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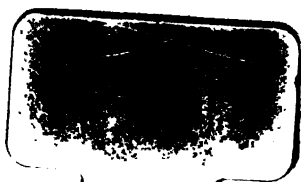
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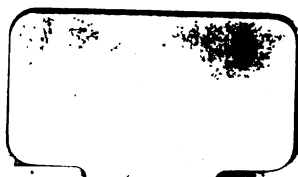
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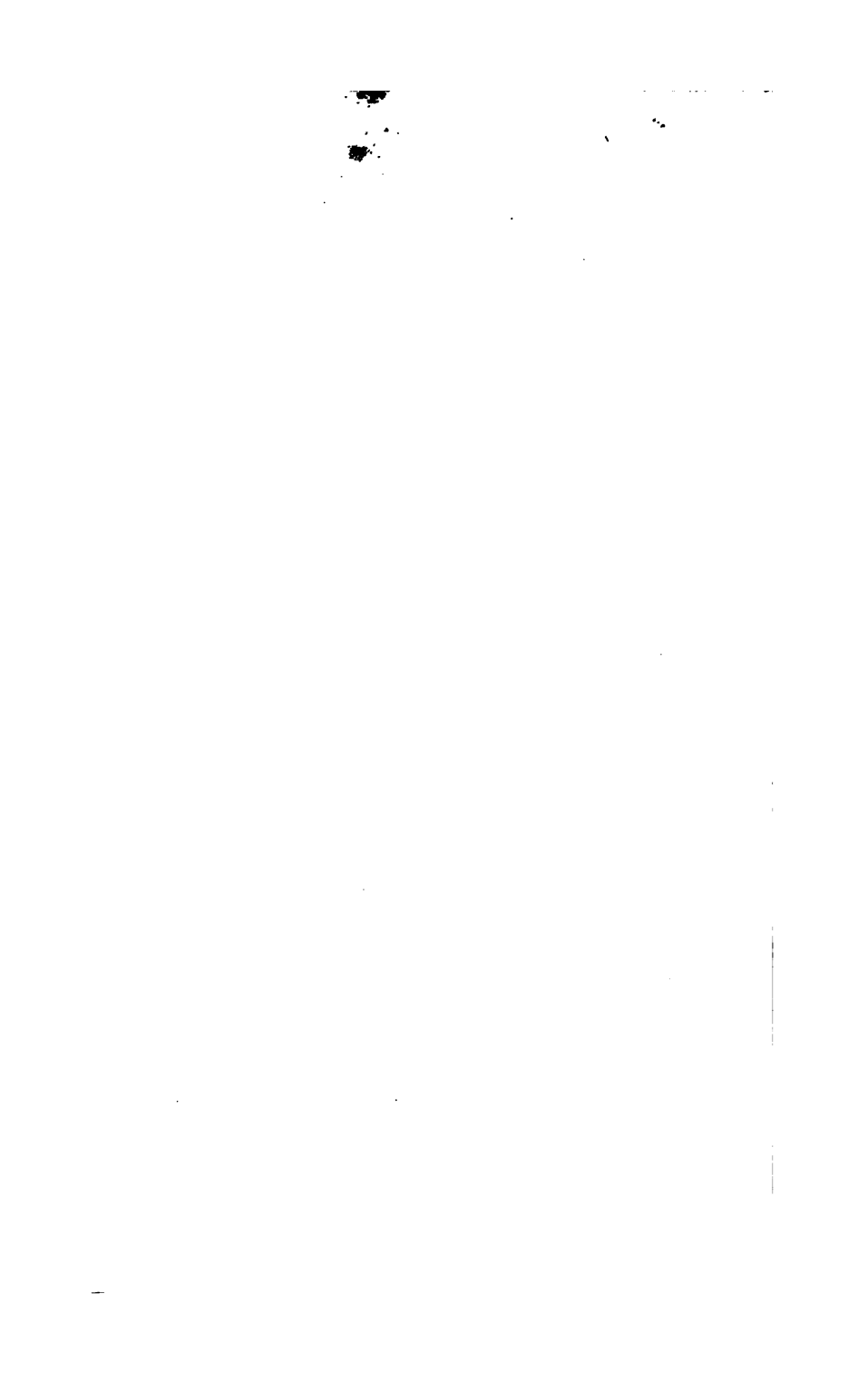


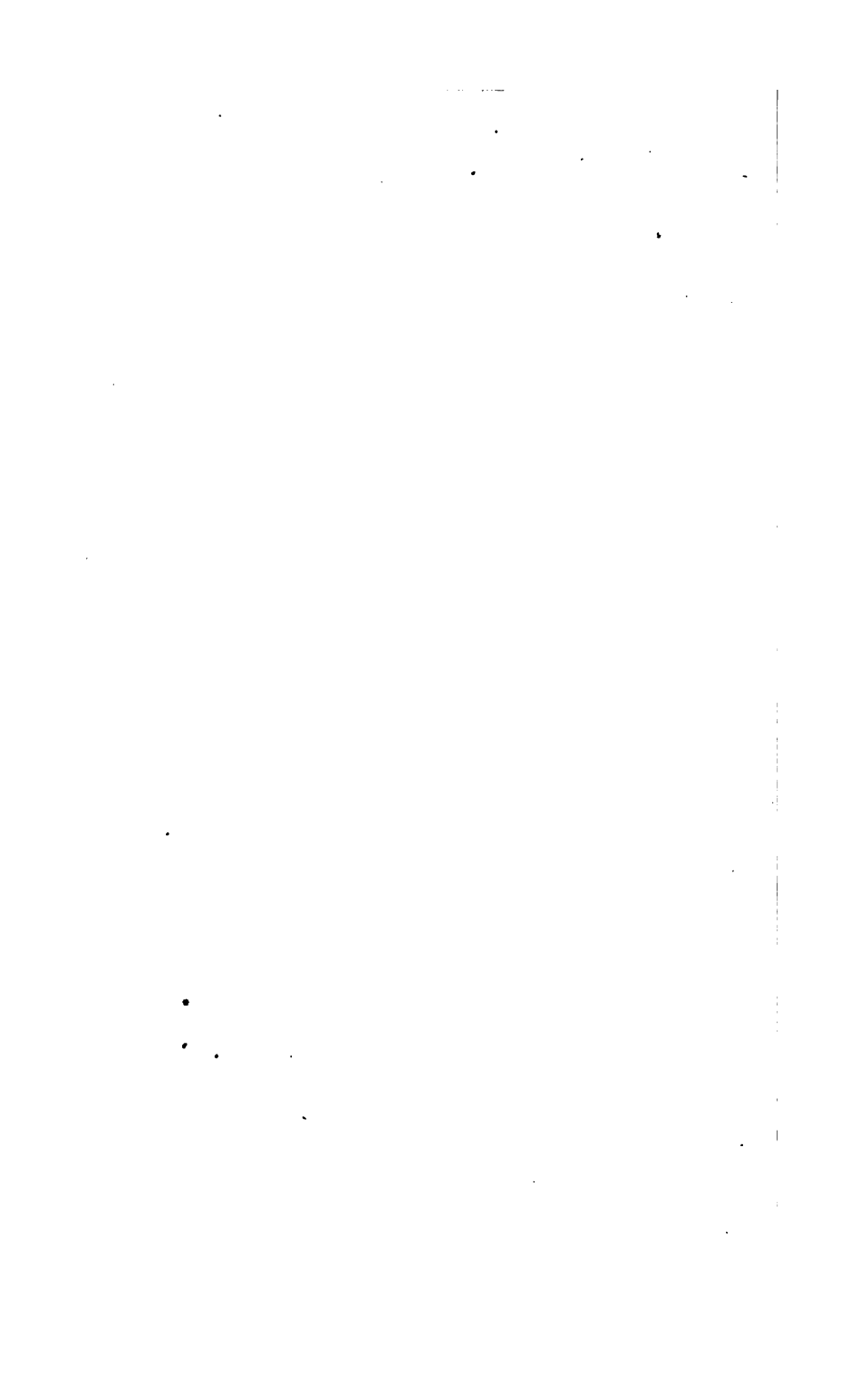




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A SHORT COURSE

OF

HISTORY.

Second Series:

VOL. II.

V. HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES,

CONTINUED.

BY

HAVILLAND LE M. CHEPMELL, D.D.

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CORRIGENDA.

- P. 17, line 15; *for Hungry, read Hungary.*
P. 22, note 2; *for allodial, read alodial.*
P. 29, line 12; *for Wilksheim, read Wolksheim.*
P. 47, note 2, penultimate line; *for third son, read fourth son.*
P. 48, ib., penult-line; *for 1578 read 1678.*
P. 52, note 2, line 10; *for nephew, read cousin.*
P. 104, note 2; *for Schwerin, read Schwerin.*
P. 121, line 20; *for second marriage, read third marriage.*
P. 196, note 2.—The queen's name was probably Ingeborga.
P. 198, note 2, line 8; *dele "and afterwards king of Navarre."*
P. 205, note 6, line 28; *for Henry X., read Hugh X.*
 Ib., ib., line 29; *for 1304, read 1303.*
P. 237, note 6, line 7, 1284.—Perhaps it was 1283.
P. 315, line 3; *for Valentia, read Valencia.*
P. 322, line 15; *for Alfonso de la Cerda, read Alfonso de la Cerda.*
P. 326, line 5; *for 1210, read 1310.*
P. 335, line 13; *for Amadius, read Amadeus.*
P. 340, line 13; *for Amabrio II., read Amalric II.*
P. 445, line 24; *for Ferdinand, read Ferdinand.*
P. 449, note 6; *for Frederic, count of Luna, read Frederic, count of Luna.*

PART V.

HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

SECTION VIII.

THE GERMAN KINGS AND EMPERORS, FROM THE DEPOSITION OF CHARLES THE FAT UNTIL THE INTERREGNUM.

A.D. 887. Arnulf, king of Germany and Lorrain.

891. Defeat of the Normans on the Dyle.

894. The kingdom of Moravia overthrown by the Hungarians.

895. Arnulf makes Zwentibold king of Lorrain.

896. Arnulf crowned emperor at Rome.

899. Death of Arnulf. Lewis IV., the Child.

900. Zwentibold slain ; Lorrain re-annexed.

911. Death of Lewis the Child. Lorrain annexed to France.

ARNULF, raised to the throne of Germany and Lorrain, Dec. 887, was just able to make the kings of Burgundy, Italy, and France acknowledge his supremacy : he had quite enough to do, at first, in repelling the inroads of the Normans and of the Slavic tribes. The former he routed with great slaughter, Nov. 891, when they had intrenched themselves for the winter on the Dyle (near what is now Louvain), after a foray in which they had wrought most dreadful havoc¹ ; against the latter, he got the dangerous

¹ They had beaten the Austrasian lords in a battle on the Meuse, between Aix-la-Chapelle and Maestricht, in which *Sunderholte*, the archbishop of *Mentz*, had fallen, June 891. In the action on the Dyle, Arnulf, by setting the example, got his nobles to fight on foot. *Godfrey* and *Siegfrid*, two of the Danish kings, were slain.

aid of the Hungarians, and thus his foes the Moravians² were utterly overthrown (A.D. 894). He bestowed his kingdom of Lorraine upon his bastard son Zwentibold, June 895; was crowned emperor in Italy³, Feb. 896; and was brought to the grave by palsy, Dec. 899, leaving a child about seven years old, who was elected to succeed him in Germany. He was loved by the Germans, hated by the Italians, and dreaded by the French.

LEWIS IV., *the Child*, and the two next kings of Germany, had no authority beyond the Alps, and were not honoured with the imperial crown. In Lorraine, however, he was proclaimed king by the nobles who had risen against Zwentibold; whose death, in a battle on the Meuse, Aug. 900, ended a war of devastation, and reunited the original dominions of Arnulf. Not being old enough to rule, Lewis was under the guidance of *Hatto*, archbishop of *Mentz*, and *Otho the Illustrious*, duke of *Saxony*; and his short reign was a time of heavy trouble to Germany, which, besides being torn with feuds within and harassed by the Normans, was overrun, year after year, by the Hungarians, and all but destroyed. The cohesion of its five nations—the Franconians⁴, the Saxons⁵, the Swabians, the Bavarians, and the Lorrainers, each of whom had their own laws and customs—was loosened, and the central authority, that of the crown, was weakened. In every mouth were these

² See vol. i., p. 198.—Arnulf had tried in vain to conciliate Zwentibold, the Moravian king (the godfather of his own son Zwentibold), by letting him have his allies the Bohemians as tributaries. These last had a share of the spoil when the Moravian kingdom was dismembered (see vol. i., p. 198, note 9).

³ For Arnulf's achievements in Italy, see vol. i., pp. 289—291.

⁴ Or *Eastern Franks*. They were looked upon as the noblest race, and their territory—Franconia, Mentz, and the Palatinate—as the cradle of the Empire. The archbishop of Mentz was the first of the German prelates, and took the lead in the elections.

⁵ These were the inhabitants of Lower Saxony and Westphalia.

words of Holy Writ—"Woe to thee, O land, when the king is a child!"

By the early death of Lewis, Nov. 911, the German branch of the Carolingians was brought to an end. But for the necessity of union against the Hungarians, who had already conquered the Eastern March (Austria), the kingdom would perhaps have been broken up: it was saved by the Franconians and Saxons, by whom the southern nations (the Swabians and Bavarians) were induced to forego their desire for complete independence. Otho the Illustrious, who had married Arnulf's daughter *Hedwiga*, having refused the crown on account of his advanced age; the choice of the electors fell upon *Conrad*⁷, a powerful nobleman of Franconia, whose mother *Glismunda* was the younger daughter of Arnulf. The Lorrainers, however, kept aloof, and became the subjects of Charles the Simple⁸.

A.D. 911. Conrad I., of Franconia.

912. Death of Otho of Saxony; War with Henry of Saxony.

916. Arnulf, duke of Bavaria, proscribed.

918. Death of Conrad.

⁶ During these troubles, the Bavarians, when discomfited by the Hungarians (June 907), chose *ARNULF the Bad*, the son of their slain chief *Leopold*, to be their duke.—The Saxons had already for their first duke, even in the Emperor Arnulf's reign, *OTHO I., the Illustrious*.

⁷ Conrad erroneously called duke of Franconia, was the son of *Conrad the Elder*; who was defeated and slain by *Adelbert*, count of *Bamberg*, Feb. 905.—Adelbert was afterwards beheaded for his misdeeds.

⁸ *RAINIER I. (Reinhard)*, count of *Mons*, was confirmed in the title of duke of Lorraine by Charles the Simple. On his death, in the year 916, he was succeeded in Lorraine by his son *GISELBERT* (*Gisilbrecht* or *Gilbert*); and in Mons or Hainault, by his son *RAINIER II.* The latter was the father of the restless *RAINIER III.* (see vol. i., p. 284), whose sons *RAINIER IV.* and *LAMBERT I.* became, after many adventures, the first proprietary counts of *Hainault* and of *Louvain*, A.D. 988 and 994.

CONRAD I., although a brave and able prince, had to withdraw from Lorraine, and to leave his provinces to defend themselves against the Normans and Hungarians. His strength was wasted in struggles with refractory dukes. Otho the Illustrious dying, Nov. 912, his son Henry took up arms against Conrad, who would not let him have the northern part of Thuringia when he gave him a grant of his father's duchy of Saxony⁹: in this war, Henry had Charles the Simple for his ally; and at its close, he still kept his hold on the prize for which he fought. Conrad was more successful in appeasing the troubles in Swabia¹; and in his contest with Arnulf the Bad, the haughty duke of Bavaria, whom he drove into exile, A.D. 916.

When the careworn king was on his death-bed, Dec. 918, he had the rare greatness of soul, as he was childless, to send his brother *Eberhard*, duke of *Franconia*, with the royal ornaments, to Henry of Saxony²; who, on his recommendation, was elected by the Germans, in the beginning of the next year, at a diet held at Fritzlar.

The Saxon Kings and Emperors.

A.D. 919. *Henry I. the Fowler*. Burchard and Arnulf submit.

923—925. Lorraine reduced.

925. Nine Years' Truce with Hungary.

929—931. Victories over the Slaves, Bohemians, and Normans.

933. *Henry the Fowler overthrows the Hungarians at Merseburg.*

⁹ Duchies and counties were now becoming hereditary fiefs; but another century elapsed before the right was fully recognized.

¹ The Swabians were now allowed to choose as their duke (A.D. 916) BURCHARD I.; who, in the year 925, also obtained the duchy of Alsatia. Franconia had likewise become a dukedom, having been granted to Conrad's brother EBERHARD.

² Henry was fowling when Eberhard came to him. Hence his surname of "the Fowler," which is first met with in the eleventh century.—In the war on account of Thuringia, he had signally defeated Eberhard near Ehresburg.

HENRY I., *the Fowler*, obliged *Burchard*, duke of *Swabia*, and *Arnulf*, duke of *Bavaria*, the latter of whom had returned home with an army of Hungarian allies, to submit to his rule ; and in a few years, he succeeded in wresting the sovereignty of *Lorraine* from the feeble hands of *Charles the Simple*³. In the meanwhile, the Hungarians had one of their chiefs taken prisoner ; so, to regain his freedom, they agreed to a truce for nine years (A.D. 925).

This breathing-time was not idly lost. Henry busied himself in building towns and strongholds⁴, and in training his people for warfare. The Slavic tribes were attacked, and the country from the *Elbe* to the *Middle Oder* annexed to Germany ; *Wenceslaus I.*, the duke of *Bohemia*, was besieged in *Prague* (A.D. 930), and forced to pay the homage which he had withheld ; and the Northmen were driven from their old frontier on the *Eyder* to the *Slie*, and a colony of Saxons planted in *Sleswick*⁵. Having won these trophies, Henry, when the truce was ended, haughtily refused to give any more tribute to the Hungarians ; and in the year 933, he destroyed their invading host at *Merseburg*, another of their armies having been also cut to pieces in *Thuringia*.

Not long afterwards, July 936, died this great restorer of the German nation and kingdom. At his desire, his second son *Otho* was chosen to succeed him, *Tankmar* (whose mother had been divorced)⁶ being set aside.

³ Part of *Lorraine* was conquered in the year 923 ; the rest, in 925. *Gislebert*, its duke, afterwards married Henry's daughter *Gerberga* (see vol. i., p. 278, note 5).

⁴ Hence he was called the "City-builder."

⁵ These marches or margraviates were then added to Germany ; *Misia* (*Meissen*), A.D. 929 ; *North Saxony*, A.D. 930 ; and *Sleswick*, A.D. 931.

⁶ This woman, a widow named *Hatburga*, Henry had been obliged to send back to a nunnery from which he had taken her.

A. D. 936. *Otho I. the Great.*

937. Death of Arnulf the Bad, and of Rodolf II. of Arles.—
Troubles in Franconia and Bavaria.

938. Tankmar slain. Bohemian War.

939. Eberhard of Franconia and Gislebert of Lorrain perish
at Andernach.

942. Henry the Quarrelsome made duke of Bavaria.

943. Diet of Stella.

950. Submission of Boleslaus of Bohemia.

951. First expedition of Otho into Italy.

952. Submission of Berenger, king of Italy.

953, 954. Rebellion of Ludolf and Conrad the Wise.

955. Otho routs the Hungarians near Augsburg.

957. Death of Ludolf.

961—965. Second expedition into Italy.

962. *Otho the Great crowned emperor.*

965. Submission of Harold Blaataud and the Danes.

967—972. Third expedition into Italy.

973. Otho the Great dies.

Otho the Great, like Alexander and Charlemagne, went far beyond his father in his achievements; as will always happen when a mighty prince enters upon a field of action in which a first-rate man has toiled before him. He had, however, to begin his career with civil war. The death of Arnulf the Bad, July 937, was the signal for troubles in Bavaria, which ended in the loss of the duchy by his son *Eberhard*, who would not pay homage to Otho⁷; while in Franconia, where the people were enraged at the favour shown to Saxons, Duke Eberhard headed more than one revolt. For his first offence, the duke was fined⁸: some months

⁷ In the year 939. His uncle BERTHOLD then became sole duke; who died childless, A.D. 942.

⁸ Eberhard had to give a number of horses as his fine: his followers were condemned to the *harnes-car*. By that ancient custom, the higher nobles had to carry a dog, and the lesser ones a saddle, on their shoulders, for one or two leagues; priests bore a large missal, and peasants a ploughshare.

afterwards, he and Gislebert of Lorrain were in a league with Tankmar; who had seized Ehresburg, but was quickly overpowered by his brother's troops, and slain in a church into which he had fled. The third and last outbreak was on a greater scale. Besides the dukes of Franconia and Lorrain, Lewis IV. of France and Otho's younger brother, Henry the Quarrelsome¹, had risen in arms; and after a few reverses, the rebels seemed to be on the eve of triumphing, when Eberhard and Gislebert were surprised at Andernach (A.D. 939) by *Herman*, duke of *Swabia*¹, and *Conrad the Wise*, count of *Worms*: Eberhard was killed in the battle, and Gislebert was drowned as he was trying to get across the Rhine in a boat. The duchy of Franconia was granted to Conrad the Wise²; who likewise had Lorrain, when Gislebert's child *Henry* was dead, A.D. 944. Henry the Quarrelsome submitted, and was forgiven:

¹ Henry had originally tried to get himself elected king, on the plea that Otho was born before their father had been raised to the throne.

¹ After the death of BURCHARD I., May 926, HERMAN I.—his father, count *Gebhard*, was the brother of the elder Conrad and the uncle of Conrad I. and duke Eberhard—got his duchies of Swabia and Alsatia, and married his widow. Dying, Dec. 948, that duke was succeeded by the husband of his only daughter *Ida*, LUDOLF, Otho the Great's eldest son. When Ludolf was deprived of his duchies, in 954, they were given to BURCHARD II. (thought to be a man of low birth); on whose death, A.D. 973, Ludolf's son OTHO had his father's fiefs restored to him by Otho II. He died childless in Italy, A.D. 982.

² CONRAD *the Wise, or the Red*, count of Worms and Spire and duke of Franconia, subsequently married Otho's daughter *Luitgarda*. His son OTHO, duke of Franconia and also marquis of Verona, died Nov. 1104, leaving three sons; *Henry*, who died before him, the father of Conrad the Salic, afterwards emperor; CONRAD of *Worms, the Old*, duke of Franconia, his successor; and Bruno (Pope Gregory V.). After the death of Conrad the Old, Dec. 1111, his son CONRAD *the Young* succeeded; who died childless in the year 1139. The duchy was then abolished for a time; which greatly increased the influence of the Count Palatine of the Rhine.

yet, in the year 942, he plotted against his brother's life, and was once more pardoned, being even allowed to become duke of Bavaria, a fief which was then vacant ³.

As a check upon the power of the dukes, Otho established a count palatine in each province; who was a supreme judge of appeal, and was entrusted with the government of the royal demesnes. He also increased the privileges of the clergy, and bestowed duchies and counties upon prelates, with all the rights of other princes and nobles. At the diet of Stella, in this reign, the question was raised, whether the son of a deceased elder child should inherit, on the death of the grandfather, rather than his uncles: the knotty point, which all the wisdom of the lawyers could not untie, was referred by Otho to the trial by battle for settlement, armed champions fighting on each side. The right of representation—the principle of giving the preference to the grandchild—won the day.

Otho had not yet done with rebellions. His marriage with St. Adelaide caused ill blood between himself and his eldest son Ludolf, duke of Swabia, and Conrad the Wise, now his son-in-law ⁴; so that in the year 953, the two princes rushed into a war which brought the kingdom into great danger, the Hungarian hordes being called in by Conrad to ravage it. They were forced, the next year, to throw themselves upon his mercy. Ludolf was deprived of Swabia, and Conrad was shorn of much of his power by the loss of Lorrain; which was given to Otho's brother St. Bruno, the archbishop of Cologne ⁵. Notwithstanding what had hap-

³ Henry had married *Judith of Bavaria*, the daughter of Arnulf the Bad.—Otho also made him marquess of Verona, in the year 952.

⁴ The breach was widened by Henry the Quarrelsome; who had lately been entrusted with the March of Verona, and now took the side of Adelaide against her step-children.—Otho's first wife was *Editha of England*, one of Athelstan's sisters.

⁵ In the year 959, St. Bruno divided Lorrain into two dukedoms.

pened, Ludolf afterwards faithfully served his father in Italy, until his death, Sept. 957 ; and even Conrad fell fighting against the Hungarians, Aug. 955, in that battle on the Lech, near Augsburg, by which Otho put an end to their inroads for ever. The whole of the Eastern March was then recovered.

Nor was it only thus that Otho's might was displayed. In the very outset of his reign, when Rodolf II. of Arles was dead (A.D. 937), he gained the supremacy over the united Burgundian kingdoms by seizing upon the guardianship of the boy *Conrad the Pacific* ; and in the year 950, after a long war in which the valiant *Herman Billing*⁶ highly distinguished himself, he thoroughly humbled the pride of *Boleslaus I.*, the rebel duke of *Bohemia*, forcing him to return to Christianity and his allegiance, both of which he had shaken off. The Wends were routed in a bloody battle ; the duke of *Poland* was made to own himself a vassal of Germany ; and the Slavic tribes, as far as the Vistula, were subdued and reclaimed from heathenism. The Danes having ravaged Sleswick, Otho also marched into Jutland (A.D. 965) and obliged Harold Blaataud to receive him as his liege lord, and to be baptized. And

Upper Lorrain, on the Moselle, he gave to the charge of *FREDERIC* count of *Bar*, from whose great-granddaughter the counts and dukes of Bar have sprung ; and Lower Lorrain (Brabant and Guelderland), on the Meuse, he assigned to one *GODFREY*, whose son, *GODFREY II.*, died childless in the year 976.

⁶ In the year 960, *HERMAN BILLING* was rewarded by the grant of Otho's own duchy of Saxony. His line ended in his great-grandson Duke *MAGNUS* (A.D. 1106), whose eldest daughter *Wulfhilda* married Henry the Black, duke of Bavaria : from *Eilike* or *Elizabeth*, another daughter (the wife of *Otho the Rich*, count of *Ballenstüdt*), the Ascanian princes had their descent. The duchy of Saxony was then granted by Henry V. to *LOTHAIRE* of *Supplenburg* ; who afterwards became emperor.

as the reader has been already told⁷, he was the conqueror of Italy and the restorer of the Holy Roman Empire ; the crown of which was placed on his head by the Pope, Feb. 962. He died, full of glory, in the summer of the year 973, and was succeeded by his second son Otho⁸ ; who had been crowned emperor (Dec. 967) in his father's lifetime, and had been lately married to the Byzantine princess Theophania.

A.D. 973. Otho II.

977. Henry II., duke of Bavaria, deposed.

978—980. War with France.

981. Massacre at Rome.

982. Otho routed near Basentello. Revolt of the Wends.

983. Otho III.—Henry of Bavaria restored.

996. Otho crowned at Rome.

998. Crescentius is put to death.

1002. Death of Otho III.

OTHO II., *the Red* and the *Sanguinary*, began to reign when about twenty years of age ; and was so loose in his conduct that his mother, St. Adelaide, was driven from his court. A rebellion was raised against him by *Henry* duke of *Bavaria*, the son of Henry the Quarrelsome : but though one third of Germany and the Poles and Bohemians joined in this movement, it was quelled by the young emperor's vigour, and Henry had to forfeit his duchy⁹ (A.D. 977). Having successfully concluded a war with France, about three years afterwards, Otho passed into Italy, Sept. 980, and was reconciled to his mother at Pavia : thence he went

⁷ See vol. i., pp. 295—298, 329—331, and 378.

⁸ Ludolf's son Otho was then set aside.

⁹ Bavaria was then given to Otho duke of Swabia, Ludolf's son.—It was during these troubles, that Otho II. thought fit to tranquillize Lorraine by making concessions to Charles of France and the sons of Rainier. See vol. i., p. 284.

on to Rome, where, in the following spring, he foully massacred a number of suspected Italians whom he had invited to a feast at his own table. His ambition led him further southward, until he was turned back by the arms of the Greeks and Saracens at Basentello, July 982¹; an overthrow which he never lived to avenge, being cut off by an illness at Rome, in the midst of his preparations, Dec. 983. Fortune had also been fickle to him at home; the Wends having been goaded into revolt by the harshness of the margrave of the North².

Otho III., during his childhood, was placed under the regency of his mother Theophania, and (after her decease, A.D. 991) of his grandmother St. Adelaide and his great aunt *Matilda*, the abbess of *Quedlimburg*. Theophania was greatly troubled at first by Henry of Bavaria; who had got her son delivered into his keeping, and had even taken the title of king. But the Franconians and Swabians stood firm against his attempts, and it was agreed that he should give back Otho, and be allowed to have his forfeited duchy again.

Otho, as he grew up, displayed much ability. The Danes were repelled; the revolted Slavic tribes in Brandenburg were partially subdued; the Poles had to acknowledge his sovereignty; and in Italy, where he was crowned as emperor by a German pope of his own choosing (May 996), he broke the power of Crescentius³, and would have made Rome the seat of his government, had not death overtaken him, in the twenty-second year of his age, Jan. 1002⁴.

¹ For Otho's wars in France and Italy, see vol. i., p. 285, and pp. 378, 379.

² For the revolt of the Slavic tribes, see vol. i., p. 190.

³ For an account of the events at Rome, see vol. i., pp. 322, 323.

⁴ He had lately had a narrow escape at Rome, having been besieged by the people in his palace for three whole days. He is said to have

- A. D. 1002. *Henry II.* Submission of Herman, duke of Swabia.
 1004. Henry is crowned king of Italy at Pavia.
 1005—1018. Wars with Boleslaus, duke of Poland.
 1014. Henry II. crowned emperor at Rome.
 1021. Henry II. invades Apulia.
 1024. Death of Henry II.

HENRY II., *the Saint and the Lame*, who had succeeded his father Henry as duke of Bavaria, was raised to the throne of Germany at the diet of Mentz, June 1002. Two powerful lords, however, set up themselves against him, *Eckard*, margrave of *Misia*, and *Herman*, duke of Swabia : the former fell a victim to the treachery of assassins, and the latter was forced by Henry to yield to the choice of the nation.

For many years, the kingdom of Italy was disputed with the Germans by Arduin of Ivrea ; but Henry at last received the imperial crown at Rome, Feb. 1014, and towards the close of his reign, he gained some transient successes in a war with the Greeks in Apulia ⁵. The renowned duke of Poland, *Boleslaus Chrobri* (the Intrepid), was also a thorn in his side. He had overrun Bohemia and Moravia ; and though driven from Bohemia (in the year 1005), he forced the Emperor to let him hold Silesia and Lusatia as fiefs ⁶ : he likewise dictated terms of peace to the Russians. It was the policy of this man to aid the discontented in Germany. Among these was Henry's own brother *Bruno*, margrave of *Schweinfurt* ; who was offended because the duchy of Bavaria had been granted to *Henry of Luxemburg*, the

been poisoned by a mistress, *Stephania*, the widow of Crescentius ; but it is more certain that the climate of Italy was extremely fatal to the Germans.

⁵ For these transactions, see vol. i., pp. 299, 300, 324, and 380.

⁶ He had at first proposed to take the part of his namesake *Boleslaus*, the exiled duke of *Bohemia* ; whom, however, he entrapped and blinded.

brother of the virgin empress *Cunigunda*¹. Bruno had to flee to the court of his sister *Gisela*, the queen of St. Stephen of Hungary; and when he was pardoned, he accepted the bishopric of Ratisbon, notwithstanding that he was the only remaining heir of the Saxon family.

Weary of human greatness, Henry, although a prince of no small talent and energy, once wanted to become a monk at St. Vanne de Verdun. The abbot *Richard* received him as a brother; but when the oath of obedience had been plighted, he wisely bade him return to the government of the empire with which God had entrusted him. At the age of fifty-two years, Henry died of the stone, July 1024.

THE FRANCONIAN EMPERORS.

A. D. 1024. *Conrad II. the Salic*.

1026. Conrad crowned king of Italy. Treaty with Canute.

1027. Conrad crowned emperor.

1029—1031. Wars with Poland.

1030. Ernest II. of Swabia slain. War with Hungary (ends 1031).

1033. Conrad crowned king of Burgundy.

1037. Eudes, count of Champagne, killed. Troubles in Italy.

1039. Death of Conrad the Salic.

The sceptre which had been wielded by the Saxons, was recovered by the Eastern Franks. A host of electors², encamped in the open fields near Mentz, gave it with one voice to CONRAD II., surnamed *the Salic*³, a princely noble of

¹ Daughter of *Siegfrid*, count of *Luxemburg*. Henry, her husband, is said to have made a vow of perpetual chastity.

² The lead was taken by the archbishop of Mentz and the prelates; after whom came the eight dukes of Franconia, Saxony, Swabia, Bavaria, Upper and Lower Lorraine, Carinthia, and Bohemia. Conrad the Young, the duke of Franconia, though at first a candidate for the crown, headed the lay peers in voting for his cousin.

³ For his descent from Conrad the Wise and Luitgarda, see p. 7, note 2.—When elected, he refused to put away his wife *Gisela*; who was his kinswoman, her father, duke Herman II., being of the

Franconia who was descended in the female line from Otho the Great, Sept. 1024 ; and though the Italians would have withheld their allegiance, they found it necessary, somewhat later, to follow in the wake of the Germans. In the spring of the year 1026, Conrad was acknowledged as king of Italy ; the next year, on Easter Day (March 1027), he was also crowned as emperor at Rome, his wife's uncle ¹, *Rodolf the Sluggard*, king of Arles, and *Canute the Great*, king of Denmark and England, being present at the ceremony. To Canute, about that time, he ceded the useless March of Sleswick : thus the Eyder again became the northern boundary of the Empire.

Conrad had many foes to deal with at home, discontent having been stirred up by the duke of Aquitaine, when that prince had been offered the Italian kingdom. The chief of these were *Frederic II.*, duke of *Upper Lorrain* ², and the Emperor's own stepson, *Ernest II.*, duke of *Swabia* ³. The

Franconian family. His late uncle, Conrad of Worms, the duke of Franconia, who had married Gisela's sister *Matilda*, had acted in the same manner when the Emperor Henry II. had tried to make him divorce his wife.

¹ See vol. i., p. 268, note 1. Rodolf's sister *Gerberga* was the mother of the Empress Gisela. His sister *Gisela* was the mother of the Emperor Henry II., who was to have been his heir.

² *FREDERIC II.*, had become duke of Lorrain, Jan. 1026, but died in the course of the year 1027. He was the second husband of Gisela's sister *Matilda* (the dowager duchess of Franconia) ; and his eldest daughter *Beatrice*, the wife of Boniface of Tuscany, was the mother of the famous countess *Matilda*.

³ *HERMAN II.* (the husband of *Gerberga*) was succeeded, May 1004, by his son *HERMAN III.* ; after whose death, July 1012, *ERNEST I.* (second son of *Leopold the Illustrious*, the first hereditary margrave of Austria) obtained the duchies of Swabia and Alsatia. That prince, afterwards killed when hunting, May 1015, had married the future Empress *Gisela*, who was the sister of the late duke ; and his eldest son by her was *ERNEST II.*, on whose deposition Swabia was given, in the year 1030, to his younger brother *HERMAN IV.*, Alsatia being granted to Conrad, duke of Franconia.

duke of Lorraine did not live to trouble him long : but Ernest of Swabia, who was more than once forgiven, was at last put under the ban of the Empire,—that is to say, he was declared an outlaw and his fiefs were forfeited,—shortly after which, he was slain in a skirmish while pillaging, Aug. 1030. Nor was Conrad less successful against his foreign enemies. St. Stephen, the king of Hungary, had to sue for peace ; *Odelric*, duke of *Bohemia*, was kept to his duty as a vassal ; Poland, torn with civil strife after the death of Boleslaus, was again brought under the supremacy of Germany ; the Slavic tribes were checked by fresh defeats ; and *Eudes II.*, count of *Champagne*, who for some years disputed the crown of Arles (which had fallen to Conrad on the decease of Rodolf the Sluggard⁴), and had even extended his views to the kingdoms of Lorraine and of Italy, was surprised, near Bar le Duc, by *Gothelon* of *Lower Lorraine*, and slain in a bloody battle, Nov. 1037.

Eudes had been offered the sovereignty of Italy by Eribert, the haughty archbishop of Milan ; who, when at feud with his vassals, had been arrested by Conrad, but had escaped to Milan, where the people, out of hatred to the nobles, bravely defended him. To heighten the confusion, the lesser vassals and the serfs had risen in arms against their lords⁵. The next year (A.D. 1038), Conrad marched to Rome, and restored that wanton boy, Benedict IX., to his see : in the course of the summer, owing to the heat, most of his army died of fever in Apulia, and he had

⁴ Conrad had been crowned as king of Arles, Feb. 1033, about five months after the death of Rodolf. Eudes claimed as being the son of Rodolf's elder sister Bertha (afterwards the divorced wife of Robert king of France) ; and had he succeeded in his ambitious aims, his race might have supplanted the dynasty of the Capetians.

⁵ The constitutions of Roncaglia redressed the grievances of the smaller vassals. See vol. i., p. 300.

to retrace his steps northward, his own health being greatly broken. When he entered his Burgundian kingdom, he resigned it to his son, the king-elect of Germany, *Henry the Black*; whom he had made duke of Bavaria, and on whom he also bestowed the vacant dukedoms of Swabia, Franconia, Alsatia, and Carinthia⁶. Not many months afterwards, he breathed his last at Utrecht, June 1039.

The reign of Conrad is an era in the feudal legislation of Italy, Arles, and Germany. The smaller fiefs were declared to be hereditary; the clergy were encouraged in their efforts to establish the Truce of God; law and order began to revive; and the imperial authority was greatly strengthened.

A.D. 1039. *Henry III.*

1040—1042. Bohemian war.

1041—1044. Hungarian wars.

1046. Pope Gregory VI. deposed; Henry crowned emperor.

1047—1052. Hungarian wars renewed.

1056. Death of Henry III.

HENRY III. was about twenty-two years of age at the time of his father's death. He was the most absolute of the emperors. Breaking through the settled rule in Germany, that the sovereign was not to unite a fief to his domain, nor to retain one which he had held before his accession, he kept most of his duchies for several years⁷,

⁶ Herman IV. of Swabia had died in Italy, July 1038; Conrad duke of Franconia, Alsatia, and Carinthia, died early the next year.

⁷ He indeed restored Bavaria to HENRY of *Luxemburg*, the nephew of the last duke, as early as the year 1040; after whose death, Oct. 1046, he conferred it on CONRAD I., subsequently deposed by him at the diet of Merseburg (A.D. 1047). Swabia was also given, in the year 1045, to OTHO (a Franconian count palatine, the uncle of the said Conrad, whose mother *Matilda* was the daughter of the Emperor Otho II.); and after his decease, Sept. 1047, to OTHO, son of the margrave of Schweinfurt. And Carinthia was granted in the year 1047, to WELF, count of *Altorf*. As he was childless, that duchy had for a while to pass through various hands.

and quietly annexed that of Franconia to the property of the crown: he also gave investiture to dukes without the customary form of concurrence on the part of the people; and he would depose them, not with the consent of the diet, but by the sentence of a few princes. In the Western Church, he was obeyed as a dictator and nominated the popes^a.

The troubles in Italy were now appeased, Archbishop Eribert and the delegates of the city of Milan having come to reconcile themselves with the new monarch. *Bretislaus*, duke of *Bohemia*, who had been forbidden to attack Poland, tried (and at first with some success) to shake off a yoke which galled his pride; but when he was besieged in Prague, he submitted to pay tribute again, and to obey Henry as his liege lord. Another war in Hungary ended in the discomfiture of the usurper *Obo* on the Raab (July 1044), and the restoration of *Peter*, the exiled king. The Hungarians had to do homage and to withdraw behind the *Leitha*, which has ever since been their boundary on the side of Austria. The duke of Lower Lorrain, Godfrey IV., the Bearded, who in the meanwhile had raised disturbances in the Low Countries because Upper Lorrain had been withheld from him^b, was soon afterwards taken prisoner, and was glad to be forgiven.

But while Henry was away in Italy, where he had re-

^a See vol. i., pp. 325, 326, and 332.

^b *GOTHELON I.*, duke of Lower Lorrain, after being for some years guardian of the daughters of duke Frederic II., became duke of Upper Lorrain in 1033. He was succeeded, A.D. 1043, in the Lower Duchy by his eldest son GODFREY IV., *the Bearded*: but Upper Lorrain was given to his stupid younger son *GOTHELON II.*, *the Sluggard*; and when the latter died childless, to *ALBERT of Alsatia* (A.D. 1046). Albert was surprised by Godfrey and slain, A.D. 1048; on which his duchy was granted to his brother, *GERARD of Alsatia*, the founder of the celebrated house of Lorrain, which eventually succeeded to the imperial honours of the house of Austria.

ceived the imperial crown (Christmas 1046), and the Romans and the Normans in Apulia bowed alike before his power; Godfrey leagued himself with *Baldwin V., de Lille*, count of *Flanders*, and *Diedrich IV.*, count of *Holland*, and again revolted. Their rashness cost them dear. The count of Holland lost his life; Baldwin of Flanders, though a vassal of France, had to give hostages as pledges of his submission to the Emperor; and when Godfrey was once more pardoned, his duchy of Lorrain, of which he had been deprived during the year 1048¹, was not restored to him. Yet Godfrey somewhat mended his fortunes by his marriage in Italy with Beatrice of Lorrain, the dowager-duchess of Tuscany, whose daughter Matilda likewise became the wife of his son²; and thus he so awakened the jealousy of Henry, that his spouse was taken from him and carried away into Germany (A.D. 1055). The quarrel between the Emperor and Baldwin of Flanders had also been renewed: it lasted all the rest of this reign.

In Hungary, the same spirit of resistance had of late displayed itself. *Andrew I.*, who had mounted the throne when Peter had been blinded and shut up in a dungeon (A.D. 1047), could not stomach vassalage: twice was his country invaded;—in the years 1051 and 1052;—yet he stoutly held out against a foe who never had leisure to subdue him. For Henry died in his fortieth year, Oct. 1056, ere he could fulfil his designs, or consolidate the authority which he had gained at the expense of his nobles:—only a little while before, by a great stretch of power, he had granted Bavaria to his wife *Agnes*³. Few men have

¹ Lower Lorrain was then given to *FREDERIC*, son of the count of *Luxemburg*; after whose death, Aug. 1065, Godfrey was re-instated by the emperor Henry IV. Four years afterwards, Dec. 1069, Godfrey himself died.

² See vol. i., p. 330, note 5, and p. 338, note 8, and p. 14, note 2.

³ He had already given the duchy to two children—his sons *HENRY*

been more worthy of bearing rule. Highly gifted, carefully educated, and deeply religious, he dealt fearlessly with the abuses in Church and State; and he had no vices, no weak points, which enemies could take advantage of. On the other hand, his despotic violations of established usage so aroused the fear and hatred of the nobles, that the fabric of dominion which he had raised was endangered, and eventually fell to the ground.

A. D. 1056. *Henry IV.* Agnes regent.

1062. Archbishop Hanno seizes Henry; Adalbert gains influence.

1063. Solomon is placed on the throne of Hungary.

1066. Adalbert dismissed.

1069. Council of Mentz. Adalbert returns.

1070. Otho of Bavaria deprived of his duchy.

1072. Magnus of Saxony imprisoned. Adalbert dies.

1073. Hanno retires. The Saxons revolt.

1075. Defeat of the Saxons at Hohenburg.

1076. Council of Worms. *The Pope excommunicates Henry IV.*

1077. Henry at Canossa. Rodolf of Swabia elected at Forchheim.

1078. Battle of Melrichstadt.

1080. Battle of Flarchheim; Henry again excommunicated. Council of Brixen. Battle of Wolskaheim; death of Rodolf.

1081. Henry enters Italy.—Election of Herman of Luxemburg.

1084. Rome taken; Henry IV. crowned emperor.

1086. Battle of Bleichfeld.

1088. Submission of Herman and the Saxons. War with Ecbert of Thuringia.

1090. Ecbert slain. Henry besieges Mantua.

1091. Mantua taken.

and CONRAD. The former had to resign it, in 1054; the latter died less than two years afterwards. AGNES, their mother, was the daughter of William, duke of Aquitaine, and the second wife of Henry; who had been early left a widower by *Cunelinda*, the daughter of Canute the Great.

- A. D. 1093. Conrad revolts, and is crowned king of Italy.
 1099. The Emperor has his second son Henry elected king.
 1101. Death of Conrad.
 1102. War with Robert of Flanders (ends 1103).
 1104. Henry the Young revolts.
 1105. Henry IV. deposed by his son.
 1106. Escape and death of Henry IV.

HENRY IV., hardly six years old, had his mother, the Empress Agnes, for regent. The troubles of his life began early; for the nobles who had quailed before his father, were emboldened, now that they were ruled by a woman and a child, to recover the independence which they had lost: an outcry was raised against Agnes and her faithful counsellor, *Henry*, bishop of *Augsburg*⁴; and in the year 1062, the malcontents plotted to get the young king into their own hands. At a feast given at Kaiserwerth on the Rhine, *St. Hanno*, the archbishop of *Cologne*, inveigled Henry into a boat, and carried him away by force; thus wresting the regency from Agnes, who forthwith withdrew from Germany, and afterwards ended her days in religious seclusion at Rome. Hanno had to share the government with *Adalbert*, archbishop of *Bremen*, till the scale was turned against him by the influence which the latter had gotten over Henry. That prince never forgave the champion of the nobles the violence of his abduction, nor had he any love for the saint's stern virtues; whereas the more courtly Adalbert, notwithstanding his high birth, was the thorough-going friend of prerogative⁵.

The year after these changes took place (A.D. 1063), Henry joined the army which marched into Hungary, when the usurper *Bela* was dead; and placed Andrew's exiled son *Solomon* on the throne⁶. Solomon married the sister

⁴ Agnes was slanderously accused of being the bishop's paramour.

⁵ Adalbert has been also accused of indulging the young prince's vices, in order to gain his favour.

⁶ Andrew, before he was overthrown by his brother Bela I. (in

of his ally, and covenanted to hold his kingdom as a fief of the Empire.

Whatever hopes Henry might have raised by this auspicious beginning were soon clouded. Although there was much that was good and great in him, he grew up a dissolute fellow, fond of low companions ; and his whole plan of governing was a series of fatal mistakes. He brought upon himself the enmity of the Church by the scandalous sale of bishoprics and abbeys ; he roused the indignation of the nobles by the honours which he heaped upon unworthy favourites ; and, by recklessly showing his hatred of the Saxons, he widened the breach between that people and the Franconian house⁷, and kindled the flames of civil war. And yet, had he been only wise enough to learn by experience, he had had more than one sharp lesson before he sealed his ruin. In the year 1066, Hanno and the princes of the Empire met at Tribur, and bade him either send away the insolent Adalbert, or else give up his crown : he hurried to Ingelheim, in the hope of baffling their scheme, but was beset in his palace, and made to yield to their threats. And when, at the council of Mentz, Oct. 1069, he sought to be divorced from his much wronged wife Bertha⁸, he quailed also before the thunders of the Church, and was fain to take her back to his home, though not to his love.

About that time, Adalbert openly returned to court, to the year 1061), had made peace with Germany, and it had been agreed that his son Solomon should marry Henry's sister *Judith* (or *Sophia*).

⁷ Even as early as the year 1057, some of the Saxons had plotted against Henry's life. But *Otho of Thuringia*, whom they were to place on the throne, was attacked and slain by count *Bruno III. of Brunswick*, his adversary falling with him.

⁸ Daughter of the marquis of *Susa* in Italy. He had married her in the year 1066, having been espoused to her when a child by his father ; but he never cared for her.—See also vol. i., p. 333.

the dismay of those who had banished him. The next year (A.D. 1070), the valiant *Otho* of *Nordheim*, in whose favour the late regent Agnes had resigned Bavaria, was deprived of his duchy on a very doubtful charge of treason, because he had demurred to fighting his accuser, a man of bad character and by no means his equal in rank⁹: after bravely resisting his foes when they fell upon the rest of his lands, he submitted to Henry, and was thrown into prison, together with *Magnus* his ally, the son of the duke of *Saxony*. *Otho* was speedily set free; but *Magnus*, who had been acknowledged as duke by the Saxons at his father's death, was jealously kept confined. As for the duchy of Bavaria, it was granted (A.D. 1071) to *Welf* of *Este*¹; who was the son-in-law of *Otho*, but had turned against him in his need, and had basely repudiated his daughter. From this *Welf*, the family of the *Guelfs* derives its origin and its name².

In the year 1072, *Adalbert* diéd, and Henry was pre-

⁹ One *Egino*, who said that *Otho* had tried to get him to murder the king.

¹ *ALBERT-AZZO*, marquis of *Este*, by his first wife *Cunigunda* of *Altorf* (niece and heiress of *Ccount Welf*, the duke of *Carinthia*, see p. 16, note 7), was the father of *WELF* (the founder of the *Guelfic line*). By his second wife, *Gersenda* of *Maine*, he had *FULCO* (the stock of the *Italian line of Este*), and *Hugh II.*, count of *Maine*.

² *WELF*, after divorcing *Otho's* childless daughter *Ethelinda*, married *Judith* of *Flanders*, *Tostig's* widow. His aged father, who lived until the year 1097, left him out of his will; so he marched into Italy to seize upon an inheritance which, when he had conquered it, he was unable to keep. Dying at *Cyprus*, on his return from the Holy Land, about the end of the year 1101, he was succeeded, first by his son *WELF II.* (the husband of the countess *Matilda*), who deceased in the year 1120; and then by his other son *HENRY the Black*, who, in right of his wife *Wulhilda* of *Saxony* (see p. 9, note 6), got *Luneburg* and the allodial possessions of the House of *Billing*. *Henry's* eldest son *Conrad* diéd a monk; the second, *HENRY the Proud*, became duke of *Bavaria* in 1126, and also of *Saxony* in 1136, having mar-

ailed upon to call St. Hanno into his council. But the stern archbishop, whom the infirmities of old age had not softened, hardly remained in office a twelvemonth : he retired in disgust, and the king, now left to himself, gave his passions their full swing and ruled more harshly than ever. On the Saxons, of course, his yoke weighed heaviest. Castles were built by forced labour throughout their country, which were filled by lawless garrisons ; and while native robbers were put down with a strong hand, his soldiers got their food by pillage.

Henry soon reaped as he had sown. In the year 1073, the Saxon war broke out. Stirred up by *Bucco*, bishop of *Halberstadt*, Hanno's nephew, and by Otho of Nordheim, there were gatherings of the prelates and nobles : a deputation called upon Henry to demolish the castles ; to release duke Magnus ; not to be always residing in Saxony ; and to send away his low-born advisers and his kept mistresses. These demands and those who brought them having been treated with scorn, 60,000 Saxons appeared in arms before Goslar where Henry then abode. He betook himself with his treasures to the lofty stronghold of Hartzburg, which he had built on one of the mountain heights in that neighbourhood ; and thence, being still pursued by his foes, he fled affrighted across the ridges of the Hartz, through wilds and forests, into Hesse. The Saxons now began to attack and pull down his castles ; and by threatening to put to death seventy knights whom they had taken in the garrison at Luneburg, they even got him to set Magnus free. When that duke was once out of his prison within the walls of Hartzburg, all Henry's much

ried Gertrude of Saxony, the daughter of the Emperor Lothaire II. Both Henry the Proud (who died Sept. 1139) and his son HENRY the Lion were put under the ban of the Empire, the one in 1138, and the other in 1180 ; on the second of which occasions, the two duchies were lost for ever by the Guelfs.

cherished hopes of keeping Saxony in his own hands were overthrown.

While the rebellion was raging in the North, the princes in the rest of Germany showed great unwillingness to support their king. *Siegfrid*, archbishop of *Mentz*, on whose friendship he had relied, was a thankless traitor; *Rodolf*, duke of *Swabia*³, and *Berthold*⁴ of *Zaehringen*, the duke of *Carinthia*, openly justified the Saxons. A knight named *Reginger* having given out that he had been tampered with to assassinate those dukes, they declared that they would not draw the sword in behalf of their sovereign, unless he cleared himself of this charge, by his champion, in a wager of battle. *Ulrich of Cosheim* took up the gauntlet for his master; but owing to the well-timed death of *Reginger*⁵, there the matter ended. Henry, on the other hand, was right loyally received by the citizens of Worms⁶, in spite of *Siegfrid*; and the diet which the latter was to have held at *Mentz*, to depose him, never met. Yet when he took the field against the Saxons, so few would follow him, that he must needs agree to the hard terms of the peace of

³ *RODOLF*, count of *Rheinfelden*, had been made duke of *Swabia* and *Alsatia*, in the year 1057, by the regent *Agnes*; who also gave him the hand of her daughter *Matilda* (a princess hardly fourteen, who did not live many months after her marriage).—*Swabia* was granted to *Rodolf* as an hereditary fief; so was *Bavaria*, to *Otho* of *Nordheim*.

⁴ *BERTHOLD*, count of *Zaehringen*, had been promised the reversion of *Swabia* and *Alsatia* (then held by *Otho*, marquis of *Schweinfurt*) by *Henry III.*, in the year 1052; and as a compensation for these fiefs, when they were granted to another, *Agnes*, in the year 1060, gave him the duchy of *Carinthia* and the marquisate of *Verona*.—*Henry* now bestowed *Berthold's* two fiefs on *MARQUARD* of *Eppenstein* (A.D. 1073).

⁵ It was rumoured that he had been possessed with a devil. He was probably crazy.

⁶ The cities had now risen in importance. It was always their interest to uphold the sovereign against the nobles.

Gerstungen, by which he had to yield up all his fortresses (A.D. 1074): even Hartzburg was to be demolished, although he begged and prayed that it should be spared. And greatly was his grief and rage heightened, when the fine collegiate church with which he had adorned his favourite castle, was wantonly burnt by the rabble; who had first pillaged its shrines and altars, and had dug up and scattered the bones of his brother and of his little son⁷.

Although panting for revenge, Henry behaved to the Saxons as if he had forgiven them. But he was only biding his time, and gaining over the princes in Germany, one by one, to his side: as soon as ever he was ready, he threw off the mask and prepared to strike. Having gathered together a magnificent feudal army, he hastened by forced marches to Hohenburg on the Unstrut, where the Saxons were encamped; and coming suddenly upon them, he put them to flight, notwithstanding the gallantry with which they were rallied by Otho of Nordheim, June 1075, and afterwards savagely wasted their country with fire and sword. In the fall of the year, the rebels submitted. They were saved from utter ruin by the influence of their friends, Rodolf of Swabia, Berthold of Carinthia, and Welf of Bavaria; and peace was granted them. Yet Henry did not keep his word. He did not let the nobles who had yielded themselves have their freedom⁸; he seized their fiefs, and gave them to his own vassals; and he rebuilt Hartzburg and other castles, filling them again with his ruffian soldiery.

The cry of the conquered land was too great not to reach the ears of the Pope; who was then at strife with the

⁷ This atrocity, however, turned the tide of public feeling not a little in Henry's favour.

⁸ Otho of Nordheim was, however, treated with a kindness for which he showed little gratitude. Henry even made him his vicar in Saxony.

German king about lay investitures⁹. Neither was he slow to avail himself of it. Henry was forthwith summoned to appear before a synod that was to meet at Rome in Lent¹; which so angered him that he called together the bishops and abbots of his kingdom, at Worms, Jan. 1076, and got them to decree that Gregory VII. was no lawful pope. In return for this, he was boldly excommunicated by his foe, and declared to be deposed; a sentence which fell like a thunderbolt upon a sovereign at feud with his people, and hated for his vices. The bishops, panic-stricken, withdrew from his side; his friends wavered; Rodolf, Berthold, and his secret enemies no longer feared to league against him; and, worst of all, the Saxons took heart, and eagerly identified their cause with that of religion and the church of God². At his bidding, *William*, the bishop of *Utrecht* (where he held his court that Easter), excommunicated the Pope; and the Lombard prelates, headed by Guibert (Wigbert), archbishop of Ravenna, subscribed at Pavia what he had decreed at Worms: but to his dismay, more than half the German princes met at Tribur, in October, to choose a new king in his stead³, and he found himself helpless and almost alone. He went to the neighbouring town of Oppenheim, and by dint of many prayers he moved them to grant him a twelvemonth's delay; it being also settled that the Pope was to be invited

⁹ See vol. i., pp. 336, 337, and the notes 2 and 4.

¹ If he did not, he was to be excommunicated. He had paid no heed to a former citation on account of immorality. See vol. i., p. 333.

² *In Germany, the religious question was quite secondary among the rebels.*—It was a convenient party cry.

³ The imprisoned Saxon nobles had been released by the princes who had them in their keeping, and Bucco of Halberstadt had returned to Saxony. Henry caused him to be seized and sent away to Hungary; but the bishop escaped from his escort while on the journey.

to Augsburg, the following Candlemas, to investigate his case. In the meanwhile, he was to live at Spires, without any state or the least exercise of kingly power.

Thus bowed down to the dust, Henry, as a last hope, bethought himself of hurrying to Italy, and disarming rebellion by making his peace with the Church. The passes were shut against him: but in the depth of one of the coldest winters ever known, he crossed over the frozen Alps of Savoy⁴, down the steep sides of which his wife and child, wrapped in the hides of oxen, had to be dragged through the snow and ice; and the astonished pope, not knowing what to make of it, fled for safety to Canossa, the stronghold of his faithful countess Matilda. Thither Henry humbly went to seek him. Gregory, at first, was unrelenting; but Matilda and some other leading Italians of his party, prevailed upon him to change his mind a little, and not altogether to break a bruised reed. There was indeed no humiliation to which the fallen prince would not stoop. In an outer court of the castle, into which he had been admitted without his guards,—attired in a coarse woollen shirt, barefoot, fasting, and exposed to the weather,—thrice was he kept waiting, notwithstanding the bitterness of the season, from morning till night, Jan. 1077: on the fourth day, Gregory vouchsafed to let him come into his presence, and gave him absolution, but only on the hardest conditions. He was to attend at an appointed time and place, to learn whether or not he was to have his kingdom again; and in the meanwhile, he was to lay aside all the state and all the authority of a king⁵. If restored, he was humbly to obey the Pope.

⁴ He gave some territory to the count of *Maurienne*, the ancestor of the house of Savoy, for leave to pass through.

⁵ He was not to wear his crown or any royal ornament; he was not to bear rule, or to levy taxes (except for his own maintenance); and he was never to take back his excommunicated counsellors.

This unworthy submission was quickly retracted. Henry found that he had gained nothing from his foes, but that he had deeply offended his friends : in the cities of Lombardy, where the married clergy had much influence, men talked in their indignation of disowning him, and of taking his crown from him. He therefore plucked up spirit to renew the struggle at all hazards. On the other hand, the German princes met at Forchheim, March 1077, and raised Rodolf of Swabia to the throne : it was also declared that the kingdom should not be hereditary, nor be conferred on the son of a reigning monarch, unless the people approved of his merit. The usurper had to withdraw into Saxony, when Henry returned, and Swabia and the lands of Berthold of Zaehringen were laid waste⁶ : he would also have been beaten, the next year, on the bloody field of Melrichstadt, but for Otho of Nordheim, who changed a defeat into a drawn battle. The same brave captain turned the scale of victory in Rodolf's favour at Flarcheim, near Muhlhausen, Jan. 1080 ; on which the Pope at last confirmed the election of the rebel duke⁷, and renewed the excommunication of his rival. Henry retaliated against the Pope, in the month of

⁶ Berthold's end was hastened by vexation. He died in the year 1078, at latest.—From BERTHOLD's two elder sons, the dukes of Zaehringen and the margraves of Baden descended. BERTHOLD II., his firstborn, who died in the year 1111, was the father of BERTHOLD III. (*the first who styled himself duke of Zaehringen*) and of CONRAD ; who succeeded his brother, and whose grandson BERTHOLD V., *the Rich*, was the last duke of Zaehringen. It was in the year 1218, that this branch of the family became extinct.—The second son of Berthold I., the Marquis HERMAN I., the father of HERMAN II. (*the first who styled himself the margrave of Baden*), left his wife and son, in the year 1073, and withdrew to the abbey of Cluny, where he died, about a twelvemonth afterwards, disguised as a hermit.—Berthold's third son was Gebhard, bishop of Constance.

⁷ March 1080. Prudence, or else his displeasure at the want of deference shown to him by the Saxons, had kept him neutral.

June, by calling together two councils, one at Mentz, and the other at Brixen, in the Tyrol: in the latter and most important of these, it was decreed that Gregory should be deposed as a man who had gotten his bishopric by fraud and money; as a separator of husbands and wives; as a troubler of peace, a preacher of sacrilege, a champion of perjury and murder; as an old disciple of the heretic Berenger, and a sorcerer! The king's excommunicated chancellor, Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, was then enthroned as pope.

In the autumn, a third pitched battle was fought on the Elster, at Wilksheim, not far from Gera in Saxony, Oct. 1080. There the redoubted Otho of Nordheim again put Henry and his troops to flight when they were flushed with success; but Rodolf, besides losing his right hand, received a deadly wound in the groin,—a stroke which is said to have been dealt him by Godfrey of Bouillon, who then bore the standard of the Empire,—and his fate was looked upon as the judgment of God⁸. His duchies of Swabia and Alsatia, which had been confiscated on his rebellion, had been granted to *Frederic*, lord of *Hohenstauffen*⁹, together with the hand of *Agnes*, Henry's daughter; but that warlike chieftain, from whom sprang the race of the Ghibelin emperors, had much trouble to get

⁸ Rodolf himself, when his lost hand was shown him on his death-bed, is said to have cried out that it was the hand with which he had sworn fealty to Henry, his king.

⁹ *FREDERIC of Büren*,—a village from whence he had removed his seat to the castle of Hohenstauffen, which he had built on the height above,—duke of Swabia and Alsatia, was the father of *FREDERIC, the One-Eyed*, duke of Swabia (who was succeeded, in 1147, by his son *FREDERIC Barbarossa*, afterwards emperor), and of *CONRAD*, duke of Franconia (the Emperor Conrad III.).—He died in the year 1105; and about a twelvemonth afterwards, Agnes, his widow, married Leopold the Pious, margrave of Austria.

the fiefs, even after the death of young *Berthold*, Rodolf's son, had removed the chief obstacle in his way¹.

Instead of doing his utmost to put an end at once to the war in Germany, Henry marched into Italy, in the year 1081, to wreak his vengeance on the Pope. Thrice did he attack Rome². The third time, after he had besieged it the whole winter, the citizens opened the gates, and he was crowned with his wife by the antipope, on Easter Sunday, March 1084: but Gregory still defied him in the Mole of Adrian, where he was closely beset; and was rescued at last from captivity by Robert Guiscard and the Normans of Apulia. While his undaunted foe withdrew to Salerno, to die there in exile; the Emperor returned to Germany, and found his party much strengthened, although—in an assembly at Goslar, during his absence, Aug. 1081—the malcontents of Saxony and Swabia had chosen a successor to Rodolf in the person of *Herman of Luxemburg*, count of *Salm*³. Herman had since been crowned by Siegfried of Mentz, Dec. 1082: but he had sunk in estimation, and a split had arisen among the Saxons; so that he was now driven to seek shelter in Denmark, and with him bishop Bucco of Halberstadt and *Hartwig*, archbishop of *Magdeburg*, the mischievous preachers of sedition. In the year 1086, the war was renewed by the fugitives, and

¹ Berthold died in the year 1090. Two years afterwards, his guardian and brother-in-law, Berthold II. of Zaehringen,—he had married *Agnes*, the daughter of Rodolf,—was by the arts of Gebhard, bishop of Constance, his brother, elected to the two duchies: but Frederic of Hohenstauffen had also a champion in his brother *Gilbert*, the bishop of *Strasburg*; and at length, in the year 1098, his rival agreed to give up his claim, Zurich being conceded to him.

² In the years 1081, 1082, 1083; see vol. i., p. 338.—Henry offered in vain to be reconciled to the Pope, if he would but crown him.

³ Son of *Gislebert* (or Gilbert), count of *Luxemburg*.

Herman and Hartwig defeated Henry at Bleichfeld; but no real gain was reaped from this success. The Saxons had become quite weary of a fruitless struggle:—death had already deprived them of Otho of Nordheim, their best leader, in the year 1083; the firebrand Bucco ended his career, about this time (A.D. 1087), owing to a wound which he received in a tumultuous meeting at Goslar, when he was striving to rekindle the flame of rebellion; Herman himself saw that he was despised, and readily resigned a troublesome crown, being left in peaceful possession of his own lands (A.D. 1088)⁴. Fresh disturbance was, however, raised by the margrave *Ecbert of Thuringia*, count of *Brunswic*⁵, a determined enemy of the Emperor, and so fierce and restless that the Saxon bishops were loth to make him king. He won a victory over Henry, who had attacked his castle of *Gleichen* (A.D. 1088); but he was surprised and slain in a mill; near *Brunswic*, by the vassals of the Abbess of *Quedlinburg*, in the year 1090⁶.

⁴ Not long afterwards, when trying to force the gates of one of his castles, that he might keep the garrison on the alert; he was killed without its being known who he was.

⁵ He was a margrave in Saxony and Thuringia; the marquisate of *Misia* belonged to him.—Ecbert's ancestor *BRUNO I.* (*Braun*), a Saxon margrave who died in the year 972, is said to have been a younger son of Henry the Quarrelsome. This Bruno's son, *BRUNO II.*, also lord of *Brunswic* (*Brunonis vicus*), was the first husband of *Gisela*, the wife afterwards of Herman II., of Swabia (see p. 14, note 3), and of the Emperor Conrad the Salic (see p. 13, note 9): he was succeeded, in the year 1006, by his son *LUDOLF*, the first count of *Brunswic*, whose death took place in April 1038. Then came *Ludolf's* sons, *BRUNO III.*, slain A.D. 1067 (see p. 21, note 7), and his successor *ECBERT I.*; who became, in the year 1067, margrave of *Misia*, and died about a twelvemonth afterwards. The last of these was the father of *ECBERT II.*

⁶ Ecbert II. was succeeded by his sister *GERTRUDE* (the widow of *Diedrich of Catlenburg*) and her second husband *HENRY the Fat*, the son of Otho of Nordheim, and duke of that part of Saxony which

Now that Saxony was quite peaceful, Henry appeared again in Italy to urge war with the countess Matilda ; who was the main support of Pope Urban II., and by his advice had lately married the younger *Welf*, the ducal prince of Bavaria. He laid siege to Mantua, July 1090 ; took it at the end of nine months ; and for a time, was very successful : but the courage of his foe was unshaken, and he failed when he tried to reduce Canossa, a place which was doomed to be his bane. About a twelvemonth after this check, in the year 1093, his eldest son Conrad, whom he had left in command while he returned home, passed over to the rebels ; and was crowned by them king of Italy⁷, Urban even promising him the imperial diadem, if he would consent to give up all right of granting ecclesiastical investitures. Conrad married the daughter⁸ of Roger, the Norman count of Sicily, and was acknowledged by most of the Italians ; but he rapidly fell into contempt by submit-

was on the Werra : their daughter RICHENSA married the Emperor Lothaire II., then duke of Saxony, in the year 1113, and brought him Brunswic and her father's dukedom as her dower. When Henry the Fat had been slain (April 1101) by some refractory vassals in Friesland, of which he had lately had a grant ; Gertrude married a third husband, HENRY the *Old*, margrave of *Illburg*, who died in 1103, leaving her with child. A male heir was thus born for Misnia, HENRY the *Young* ; after whose death, without issue, in 1127, the margraviate passed into the possession of the counts of Wettin (see p. 40, note 1).

⁷ Frantic zeal, and the persuasions of Matilda and Welf, may have urged Conrad to take this step ; or he may have feared that the Pope would never crown him emperor. As Henry had just imprisoned his second wife *Praxeda*, or *Adelaide*, a Russian princess whom he had married about four years before ; this dutiful son accused his father of abandoning her to the lust of his courtiers, and of even urging him to commit incest !—Strange to say, not only Conrad, but *Praxeda* herself, who had escaped from prison, seems to have affirmed these charges before a council held at Constance, in the year 1094.

⁸ Her name was either *Matilda* or (as others assert) *Violante*.

ting to be the tool of his father's enemies : his revolt, however, and the aid afforded some years later to the Pope by the French crusaders on their way to the Holy Land, brought ruin upon the Emperor's cause in Italy. Finding it useless to struggle any longer, Henry withdrew for ever behind the Alps (A.D. 1097).

In Germany, as yet, things went on more smoothly. Welf and his son—the latter had now parted from Matilda⁹—sought at length to be reconciled, and were forgiven ; moreover, Frederic of Hohenstauffen was allowed to have quiet possession of Swabia. The following Epiphany, Jan. 1099, in a diet at Aix-la-Chapelle, the Emperor's second son Henry was elected king of Germany, in the room of Conrad who had been put under the ban of the Empire : he had to swear that he would not meddle with the affairs of the kingdom, or with the demesne-lands, in his father's lifetime, but by his leave. As for the unhappy Conrad, he died neglected and despised at Florence, July 1101¹.

Those halcyon days of Henry's life were slightly troubled by a war with *Robert II.*, count of *Flanders*, whom the Pope had stirred up to attack the bishop of *Cambray* :—the badness of the weather stopped him in his first campaign ; but in the following summer (June 1103), the count, dreading his return, submitted and engaged to pay him homage². The last, worst storm burst upon him when his perjured son Henry the Young, having lent his ear to the counsels of the papal faction³, fled from court, Dec. 1104, and

⁹ He left her (in the year 1095), after he had been married six years.

¹ A report was spread that he had been poisoned, and also that miracles had been wrought at his burial.

² In the beginning of the same year, Henry, who was at Mentz on Twelfth Day, caused it to be announced at mass by a bishop, that he meant to go to the Holy Land, and that he had given up the government to his son.—This was never carried into effect.

³ He was not to deem himself bound by any oath to an excom-

caused the rebellion in Saxony to blaze up afresh. At the head of large armies, both father and son met each other on the banks of the Regen, not far from Ratisbon (Regensburg), Aug. 1105; yet even then, artful proffers of peace kept the Emperor from doing any thing:—he retreated, and his adherents fell away from him. As a diet was to be held at Mentz in December, the elder Henry again gathered together his soldiers, and set out on his march thither: but when he had reached Coblentz, Henry the Young threw himself at his feet, and by this further deed of treachery, got him to send away his troops. The old lion, thus bereft of his claws and teeth, might now be easily bearded. Forbidden to go on to Mentz, and taken to the castle of Ingelheim, Henry had to wait while the diet was dooming him; and on the last day of an unhappy year, delegates⁴ were sent to call upon him to resign his crown. Seeing that there was no help, he seated himself in state upon his throne, and he let them drag him down and despoil him of his ornaments; yet, while this was doing, he threatened them with the vengeance of God who had so heavily visited upon him the sins of his youth, “putting him to a shame which no king before him had ever borne.”—Six days afterwards, at the feast of Epiphany, the crown was placed on the head of his undutiful son.

In the midst of the rejoicings, the fallen prince found means to escape to Liege, where *Othert*, his tried friend, was bishop. *Henry of Limburg*⁵, the brave duke of *Lower*

municated person.—Perhaps he was afraid of not getting the imperial crown after his father's death.

⁴ The archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Worms.

⁵ HENRY I., count of *Limburg*, whose mother was the daughter of duke Frederic of Luxemburg, had been made duke of Lower Lorraine by Henry IV., Christmas 1101, after the death of Godfrey of Bouillon. Although he forsook the Emperor at first, shame and pity recalled him to his allegiance.

Lorrain, also came to his help. He and the men of *Liege*, surprised the troops of Henry the Young, at the bridge of *Viret*, and cut them in pieces or else drove them into the *Meuse*, March 1106; and when the citizens of *Cologne* declared for their old sovereign, he enabled them to stand out against the usurper, who was forced to retire from their walls. Nothing, however, could avail to save the ill-starred emperor from ruin. Crushed and hopeless, he died heart-broken at *Liege*, Aug. 1106; nor was he even allowed to rest in his grave.—His body was dug up⁶, and removed to *Spire*, where for five whole years it was kept above ground, in a stone coffin, in an unconsecrated chapel. When the sentence of excommunication was taken off (in the year 1111), it was buried again by Henry the Young, with unwonted magnificence.

Much as Henry sinned throughout most of his life, one cannot but feel pity and indignation at the sorrows which so darkened upon him at his latter end: for he fell a victim to the unkindness of his own flesh and blood, and to the unrelenting hate of Christian priests, who ought at least to have known how to forgive.—“Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel.”

A. D. 1106. *Henry V.*—Duke Henry of Lower *Lorrain* deprived.

1107. Submission of Robert of *Flanders*. *Bohemia* pays tribute.

1109. *Hungary* invaded; Siege of *Presburg*. The *Poles* pay tribute.

1110. First expedition into *Italy*.

1111. Henry is crowned by the Pope.

1113. Count *Siegfrid* slain.

1114. *Lothaire* of *Saxony* submits to Henry.

1115. Troubles in *Saxony* renewed. Battle of *Welfesholtz*.

1116—1118. Second expedition into *Italy*.

⁶ By the unwilling command of *Othert* himself, who had buried it.

⁷ Henry is said to have been present at sixty-five battles, in *Germany* and in *Italy*. So troubled was his rule!

A.D. 1119. Diet of Tribur.

1122. *Council and Concordate of Worms.*

1123. Conrad, count of Wettin, seizes upon Misnia.

1125. Death of Henry V.

HENRY V. forthwith requited Henry of Limburg for what he had done, by depriving him of the duchy of Lower Lorrain and of the marquisate of Antwerp. These fiefs he bestowed upon *Godfrey*, count of *Louvain*, the founder of a line of hereditary dukes of Brabant^a. And Magnus, the last of the house of Billing, having lately died, Saxony was also granted to *Lothaire*, count of *Supplenburg*; who, in right of his wife, already held the great allodial possessions of Brunswic and Hanover^b, the patrimony of Henry the Fowler.

Notwithstanding his conduct in his father's lifetime, the new king quickly showed a determination to assert the rights of the Empire, even against the Church; and to recover for the crown its full supremacy over the nobles and

^a GODFREY VII.—like duke Godfrey IV., he was called *the Bearded* and *the Great*—was descended from Lambert I., count of Louvain, the son of count Rainier (see p. 3, note 8). Though afterwards deposed by the Emperor Lothaire II., in the year 1128, he kept his marquisate and part of his duchy, in spite of Henry of Limburg's son WALERAN, to whom they had been granted; and after Waleran's death, in the year 1139, every thing was restored to him. His male line ended in JOHN III.; who died Dec. 1355.—That duke's eldest daughter JANE (married originally to *William III.*, count of *Holland* and *Hainault*) succeeded with her second husband WENCESLAUS, duke of *Luxemburg*; whom she outlived, but died childless, Dec. 1406, having made a settlement by which her fiefs devolved upon ANTONY of *Burgundy*, the second son of Margaret of Flanders (daughter of her sister *Maryaret*, countess of *Flanders*) and of Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy. Antony's successors were his sons JOHN IV., who founded that stronghold of Romanism, the University of Louvain, Aug. 1426, and PHILIP I. On the death of the latter, Aug. 1430, PHILIP *the Good*, duke of Burgundy, the head of his family, got his dominions.

^b See with regard to these possessions, p. 22, note 2; and p. 32, note 6.

the vassal nations. In the year 1107, he ravaged Flanders and obliged count Robert, who had again troubled the city of Cambray, to come and do homage to him at Mentz: he also got the Bohemians to pay tribute. Somewhat later, the Poles had also to yield to his will: but in Hungary, where he sided with prince *Almus* against his brother *Coloman*¹, he had to raise the siege of Presburg (A.D. 1109), and met with other serious checks. In Italy, Pope Paschal was made to crown him emperor, April 1111, and frightened into a treaty which, however, was soon broken²; and even the stiffnecked, undaunted Matilda thought it best to be at peace with him.

But Henry's great difficulty was at home, and the renewal of his quarrel with the Pope much increased it. In Southern Germany, indeed, he was upheld by his nephews *Frederic*, duke of *Swabia*, and *Conrad*, to whom he gave the duchy of Franconia; and also by their mother's second husband, *Leopold the Pious*, margrave of *Austria*, a warrior who drove back the Hungarians when they burst upon the frontiers of the Empire, which they had learned to despise. In Northern Germany, however, and above all in Saxony, there was nothing but trouble and confusion: owing to feuds, murder, robbery, and pillage, the people were brought down to the lowest depths of wretchedness. One of Henry's most mischievous foes was *Adalbert*, archbishop of *Mentz*, once his friend and chancellor³; and besides him were *Siegfrid of Ballenstedt*, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, and *Lothaire of Supplenburg*, the newly created

¹ In the year 1113, *Almus* was blinded and imprisoned by his brother, as soon as Henry had withdrawn from Hungary which he had again entered.

² For the transactions with Paschal, see vol. i., pp. 340, 341.

³ This German Becket turned against his master when he was excommunicated, in the year 1112. Henry then had him seized, and kept him three years in prison, until he was obliged to release him.

duke of Saxony⁴. Siegfrid, who had belonged to the party of the late emperor, was imprisoned for two years on a charge of treason; and though he was pardoned and set free, Aug. 1111, he was goaded into rebellion, in less than a twelvemonth, when Henry seized upon the succession of *Udalric*, count of *Weimar*, as an escheat. Siegfrid's claims to inherit from his childless kinsman⁵ were backed by Lothaire, his brother-in-law, and most of the Saxon nobles: but he was surprised at Wahrenstedt, near Quedlinburg, by *Hogier*, count of *Mansfeldt*, and mortally wounded, Feb. 1113; after which Lothaire was so hard pressed, that he could not stand his ground. On the 7th of January, 1114,—the day on which Henry married *Matilda of England*, a princess hardly twelve years old,—the humbled Lothaire, barefoot and in his shirt, had to come before the Emperor, at the diet of Mentz, and to ask his pardon.

Lothaire was not quiet long. Count *Lewis of Thuringia*⁶,

⁴ Lothaire and Siegfrid were brothers-in-law; Siegfrid having married a daughter of Henry the Fat—*Gertrude*, Richensa's younger sister.

⁵ Siegfrid and his elder brother *Otho the Rich* were the children of *Adalbert*, count of *Ballenstedt*, and of *Adela*, the daughter of *Otho*, count of *Orlamunde* and *Weimar*, and margrave of *Misia*.—This margrave Otho had no sons; so that both branches of the house of Orlamunde-Weimar were without male heirs.

⁶ *LEWIS the Leaper* (whose father, *Lewis the Bearded*, a powerful count in Thuringia, and the nephew of Herman II., duke of Swabia, died in the year 1056) was the troublesome foe of the Emperors Henry IV. and Henry V. He was called the Leaper, because (when imprisoned by Henry IV. for having murdered *Frederic*, palatine of *Saxony*, and married his faithless wife *Adelaide*) he had leaped out of a castle window into the river *Sala*, A.D. 1072. By the same emperor, he was again confined, on account of rebellion, in the year 1093. Dying, in the year 1123, he was succeeded in Hesse and Thuringia by his son *LEWIS I.*; who, seven years afterwards, was created Landgrave of Thuringia (A.D. 1130). The last surviving prince of this line of landgraves, most of whom were palatines of Saxony, was

who had shown himself without leave at the wedding, having been thrown into prison ; he was encouraged to enter into cabals with the princes at the diet, and to take up arms again. Henry, in this war, ravaged Saxony, until his army was beaten at Welfesholtz, near Eisleben, and count Hogier slain, Feb. 1115 ; on which he fell back towards the Rhine, and the defection spread itself every where. The diet which he called to meet at Mentz, in November, was thinly attended ; and, to add to his mortification, the townspeople rose, and compelled him to release their archbishop. Tidings having reached him of the countess Matilda's death, and of the scheme of the Greek emperor Alexius to get himself crowned by the Pope, at Rome ; he returned to Italy, in the beginning of the next year, and was engaged in securing the fiefs of the great countess, and in twice renewing his coronation, not forgetting to set up an antipope⁷. In the meanwhile, things became worse in Germany. The princes of Lothaire's party, having gathered together at Fritzlar, in the year 1119, threatened to depose the Emperor, unless their grievances were redressed :—this brought Henry home, and he agreed, at a diet held at Tribur, to restore all that he had unjustly taken. Yet, as he had been excommunicated afresh, and the great question of investitures was unsettled, there was little peace for him : Archbishop Adalbert was

HENRY RASPE ; on whose death, Lent 1247, the allodial and feudal possessions of the house were separated.—HENRY *the Illustrious*, margrave of Misnia, the son of Raspe's half sister Jutta (Judith), had the Landgraviate of Thuringia, and was created Palatine of Saxony : his descendants, in the year 1423, also became dukes and electors of Saxony. The landgraviate of Hesse was inherited by HENRY *the Child*, the son of Raspe's elder brother (LEWIS IV.)'s daughter *Sophia*, the second wife of Henry II., duke of Brabant : from him are descended the various lines of the princes of Hesse, which has remained subdivided ever since the death of the celebrated Landgrave PHILIP, March 1567.

⁷ For these struggles with the popes, see vol. i., p. 341.

still his foe, and when about to be besieged at Mentz, two years afterwards, once more stirred up the Saxons against him. This time, there was no fighting. When both armies faced each other, arbitration was proposed, and a diet was convened at Wurtzburg. Henry now behaved with such moderation, that the churchmen, his opponents, were fain to become peacemakers; for the laity with one voice reproached them with being the destroyers of the Empire⁸. As the Pope himself (Calixtus II.) was weary of the struggle, the well known compromise in which the Church and the Empire each guarded its rights, was finally agreed to, at the council of Worms⁹, Sept. 1122. The Emperor then received the kiss of peace from the Pope's legate, and was restored to communion.

The next year, however, there was a feud with Lothaire on account of Misnia. Its margrave being dead, Henry had wanted to give the fief, as an escheat, to *Wibert of Groitz*; but *Conrad the Pious*, count of *Wettin*, seized and kept it as his rightful inheritance, with the help of Lothaire. Thus the house of *Wettin*, from whence have sprung the modern electors and kings of Saxony, first rose into consequence¹. It was also in this reign that *Holstein*, after-

⁸ "Universa laicorum multitudo Imperii nos destructores inclamabat," is what *Adalbert* himself wrote to Pope *Calixtus*.

⁹ For the terms acceded to by both parties, see vol. i., p. 342.

¹ *CONRAD the Pious* had claimed *Misnia*, as being descended from *Matilda*, the daughter of a margrave *Eckard* who died in the year 1002. He had formerly tried to seize it, on the strength of being the nephew of the margrave *Henry of Illburg*, *Gertrude of Brunswick's* third husband (see p. 32, note 6); and had gone so far as to give out that his posthumous son *Henry the Young*, the late margrave, was a supposititious child. *Henry the Young*, when a grown-up lad, took him prisoner; and kept him in a sort of cage, from which he now emerged. When his patron *Lothaire* had become emperor, *Conrad*, in the year 1136, also obtained the vacant marquissate of *Lusatia*. He was succeeded in *Misnia*, Feb. 1157, by his eldest son, *OTTO the*

wards inherited by the Oldenburg kings of Denmark, became a county ; the powerful Lothaire having granted

Rick (so named, owing to his silver mines at Freyberg) ; who, at one time, was imprisoned by his firstborn, whom he would have set aside to favour his younger son. Next came the said firstborn, *ALBERT the Proud*, Feb. 1189 ; after whose death, June 1195, the Emperor Henry VI. sequestered Misnia. The Emperor dying, two years afterwards, the younger brother, *DIEDRICH the Exiled*, recovered his rights : he also, on the death of his cousin *Conrad of Lusatia* without male heirs (A.D. 1210), managed to get Lower Lusatia adjudged to him. Upper Lusatia was given to *Albert II.*, margrave of Brandenburg, the husband of *Conrad's* daughter *Matilda*.

Diedrich the Exiled was succeeded, Feb. 1220, by his infant son *HENRY the Illustrious* ; who, in the year 1247, also became landgrave of Thuringia and Palatine of Saxony (see p. 39, note 6). Not content with his good fortune, that prince tried also to appropriate the allodial possessions of his late uncle, *Henry Raspe of Thuringia* ; which was the more easy, as he had been entrusted with the guardianship of the youthful heir, now landgrave of Hesse : but he was driven out of his own dominions, *Sophia of Brabant* (the landgrave's mother) having got the powerful aid of *Albert the Great*, duke of *Brunnec*. The harshness of *Albert* having eventually caused a revolt of the Thuringians, during which he was defeated and taken prisoner, Oct. 1263 ; *Henry* was enabled to return from Bohemia, and to regain what he had lost : he had then the wisdom to make peace with *Sophia* on equitable terms. He bestowed Misnia upon his second son (*DIEDRICH the Wise*) ; who died before him, leaving a son (*FREDERIC*), who died childless in the year 1291. The eldest son—who succeeded to Thuringia, Feb. 1288, and afterwards inherited Misnia—was the infamous *ALBERT the Depraved*, the husband of *Margaret*, daughter of the Emperor *Frederic II.* *FREDERIC I.*, of the *Bitten Cheek*, the son of that unhappy marriage, took his father prisoner (a second time), in the year 1306, and became master of his dominions :—he was himself taken prisoner in a war with *Waldemar*, margrave of Brandenburg ; and had to ransom himself, in the year 1317, by ceding Lower Lusatia to the margrave. About the year 1326, he was succeeded by his son *FREDERIC II., the Serious* ; after whose death, in the year 1349, Misnia and Thuringia were for a while held in common by his children. Eventually, in the year 1376, *FREDERIC III., the Severe*, got Misnia, while *BALTHAZAR*, the second brother, had Thuringia ; which, when

it as a fief to a vassal of his,—*Adolphus*, count of *Schauenburg*,—about the year 1106².

Either that he might put down the opposition of his unruly subjects, or else with the design of attacking France in conjunction with his father-in-law, the king of England ; Henry called together the forces of the Empire, A.D. 1124. This was his last undertaking. His plans, whatever they may have been, were interrupted by the revolt of Worms ; and in the following spring, he died at Utrecht, May 1125,

his son (FREDERIC IV., *the Pacific*) died, A.D. 1439, reverted to the elder branch.

FREDERIC *the Warlike*, Frederic of Misnia's son, inherited Misnia (his father having died in 1381, and his elder brother GEORGE, in 1401) ; and from the Emperor Sigismund, he obtained, in the year 1423, the duchy and electorate of Saxony, of which he received the investiture at Buda, A.D. 1425. His son FREDERIC II., *the Good*, who succeeded to the electorate, Jan. 1428, was at feud with *William*, a younger brother on account of the reversion of Thuringia : the quarrel, however, was made up (A.D. 1451), and William kept the disputed territory. It was bequeathed eventually by William, who had no children, to his brother's sons. These were ERNEST and ALBERT ; who had divided their father's possessions when he died, Feb. 1464, and from whom the two great branches of the family are named—the *Ernestine*, with its subdivisions of Saxe-Weimar, Saxe-Eisenach, Saxe-Jena, Saxe-Gotha, Saxe-Meinungen, Saxe-Hildburghausen, and Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld ; and the *Albertine* (of which the offshoots, Saxe-Weisenfels, Saxe-Merseburg, and Saxe-Weitz, are all extinct), which got hold of the electoral dignity in the middle of the next century, and has since become a royal house (A.D. 1806).

² ADOLPHUS was count of Schauenburg in Westphalia. His descendant GEBHARD III. got the duchy of Sleswick from the Danish king, in the year 1386 : but in the next generation, the elder branch of the counts of Schauenburg became extinct, Dec. 1459 ; on which CHRISTIAN I., of Oldenburg, king of Denmark, the son of Gebhard's daughter *Hedwiga* and *Diedrich* count of Oldenburg, obtained possession of Sleswick and Holstein, the latter of which also became a duchy, Feb. 1474.—From the house of Oldenburg, the kings of Denmark, the various branches of Holstein dukes, two dynasties of Swedish kings, and the present emperor of Russia, derive their origin.

leaving no children by his wife Matilda. With him ended the Franconian line, and the crown of Germany now became practically elective.

Henry was a prince who was not much loved. He had talent and courage ; but his nature was hard and covetous, and he would lose much by grasping at more than he could reach.

The estates of the deceased monarch were inherited by the children of his sister Agnes and her first husband : Frederic, duke of Swabia, was therefore looked upon as the representative of the Franconian family. But Archbishop Adalbert and the other princes who had been foes to the extinct dynasty, were also his enemies ; and they were led on by hatred and selfish ambition to set aside all rights of birth, and to establish a principle which in the end broke up the nationality of Germany, and shattered its imperial power into crumbling fragments. At the diet near Mentz, which was attended by sixty thousand freemen encamped on both banks of the Rhine, the princes and nobles, by the advice of the Pope's legate, entrusted the choice of a sovereign to ten persons³; which resulted in three candidates being proposed—Frederic of Swabia ; Leopold of Austria, his father-in-law ; and Lothaire of Saxony, the decided adversary of the Franconians⁴. Leo-

³ This system of previous choice—the right of *PRÆTAXATION*—gave rise to the College of Electors in after times. The precedent now given seems to have been followed at all subsequent elections, and the right of *prætaxis* to have early become the privilege of certain great dignitaries. In the "*Privilege of Austria*," granted by Frederic Barbarossa (A.D. 1156), the newly made duke of that province was to take rank "*post principes electores*." *Throughout the twelfth century, and for some time beyond, the rest of the princes had still a consenting suffrage.*

⁴ Some writers name a fourth candidate, Charles I., the Good, count of Flanders (son of Canute IV. of Denmark and Adela of Flanders) ; but without any good authority.

pold and Lothaire having, on their knees and with tears in their eyes, begged not to be elected, Frederic, who had hitherto kept aloof, came to Mentz, feeling quite sure that he was to be crowned. Never was a man more mistaken. The crafty Adalbert put the question to each of the candidates, whether he would freely give his allegiance to any one who might be chosen; on which Frederic withdrew, saying that he must first go and ask his friends what course he should take. As this implied that the succession was his by right, many were highly offended; and the next day, while he and his father-in-law, *Henry the Black*, duke of *Bavaria*⁵, were absent, a cry was raised that Lothaire should be king. Lothaire was accordingly seized by his friends, and lifted on high upon their shoulders; at the bidding of Adalbert, the doors of the room were shut, to keep in the nobles who wanted to get away; the duke of Bavaria was sent for, that by getting him to consent, the sturdy opposition of his prelates might be silenced; and at last, a unanimous election was brought about, chiefly by the efforts of the Pope's legate, Aug. 30, 1125. Even Frederic, when he returned, two days afterwards, was prevailed upon to acknowledge the new king.

Lothaire had owed his elevation to the zeal which he had always displayed for the liberties of the clergy and of the nobles. Lest he should swerve from his old political faith when on the throne, he was made to sign a "Capitulation" which set bounds to his authority⁶. The Church was to have the fullest freedom in elections, and the investiture by the sceptre was to be received by prelates after consecration.

⁵ Frederic had married *Judith*, the duke's eldest daughter.

⁶ An ambassador was sent to the Pope to notify Lothaire's election. The court of Rome afterwards exacted a like notification from his successors as a matter of right.—The exacting a Capitulation from a newly elected emperor, also became afterwards a regular custom.

THE REIGN OF LOTHAIRE OF SAXONY.

- A.D. 1125. *Lothaire II.* Bohemian War.
 1126. Battle of Chlumetz. War declared against Frederic of Swabia.
 1127. Death of the Count of Burgundy. Siege of Nuremberg.
 1128. Conrad of Franconia crowned in Italy.
 1130. Spîres taken.
 1131. Defeat of Frederic at Gugenheim. Canute, king of the Wends, murdered by Magnus.
 1132. First Expedition to Italy; Flight of Conrad.
 1133. Lothaire crowned at Rome.
 1134. Albert the Bear has the Old March. Ulm burned. Submission of Frederic of Swabia.
 1135. Submission of Conrad of Franconia.
 1136. Henry the Proud gets the duchy of Saxony. Second Expedition to Italy.
 1137. Apulia overrun; Innocent II. restored. Death of Lothaire.

LOTHAIRE II. began his reign by waging war with *Sobieslaus*, the new duke of *Bohemia*; being allured by the large sums which *Otho*, margrave of *Moravia*, the brother of a former duke, had proffered for his aid¹. As he was threading his way through forests, when the snow was on the ground; his straggling Saxon troops, well-nigh starved with cold and hunger, were suddenly attacked by *Sobieslaus* at Chlumetz, Feb. 1126, and routed with great slaughter. *Otho* himself was among the dead. With the few that were still unscathed, Lothaire betook himself to a neighbouring hill, and bravely stood at bay: the Bohemian duke hemmed him in with his troops, and with barricades of felled trees; but had the wisdom to listen to

¹ Henry V., at the request of the Moravians, had granted *Otho* the duchy, in the year 1109; but as the Bohemians had sworn to acknowledge the margrave's cousin, *Uladislaus III.* (*Sobieslaus'* elder brother), he acquiesced in their choice.

terms, and was confirmed in his duchy on paying homage. About ten years afterwards, the Poles were also made to renew their tribute⁸.

Before Lothaire had marched against the Bohemians, he had already, at Strasburg, denounced Frederic of Swabia, Dec. 1125 ; and at another diet, at Goslar, he had put him under the ban of the Empire. Frederic had refused to give up some lands belonging to the late emperor, which had been claimed as fiscal, but which he asserted to have been part of the patrimony of Conrad the Salic : thus began the great feud between the houses of Saxony and Swabia, which was so often renewed under the famous war-cries of GUELPH and Ghibelin⁹. As early as the spring of the year 1126, Lothaire attacked him in Alsatia ; but could do nothing against a foe who kept within his strongholds. With the aid of the duke of Bohemia, he afterwards laid siege to Nuremberg, a city which the industry of its inhabitants had already raised to importance ; from thence, however, at the end of two months, he was driven away by the approach of Frederic and his brother Conrad, duke of Franconia, the latter of whom had just returned from the Holy Land. Flushed with their success, the two dukes went on to Spires, the burial-place of the Salic emperors, and put a garrison there ; Conrad, who had become the head of the

⁸ At the diet of Merseburg, Aug. 1135, duke *Boleslaus III.* paid up the arrears of twelve years ; did homage for Eastern Pomerania ; and in the procession to church, bore the sword of the Empire before Lothaire.

⁹ GUELPH, or GUELPH, was the Italian way of spelling *Welf*, the name by which the Bavarian Saxon family was designated ; and Ghibelin was similarly changed from *Weibeling*, a castle near Stuttgart, the original seat of the Salic or Franconian family, of which the Swabian or Hohenstauffen house (now called the Weibelinger) were the representatives.—These war-cries, said to have been first heard at the siege of Weinsberg (A.D. 1140), reached Italy about the year 1145.

party, even took the title of king, and set out for Italy to make his claims good. In that country, the new candidate found a ready welcome at first : for the citizens of Milan and the nobles of Tuscany declared themselves for him ; and at Monza, on St. Peter's day (June 1127), the iron crown of Lombardy was placed on his brows by *Anselm*, the Milanese Archbishop¹. But to his dismay, the Pope excommunicated him, and Pavia and the Lombard towns opposed to Milan leagued themselves together to uphold the cause of his rival ; so that he was much weakened, and could not get himself crowned at Rome, as he had hoped.

Nor was it only by the Swabian dukes that the authority of Lothaire had been set at defiance. When *William III.*, the young count of *Burgundy*², had been murdered by some

¹ Conrad was again crowned, a few days afterwards, at Milan itself.

² OTHO-WILLIAM, the ancestor of the murdered count and the son of Adelbert, king of Lombardy,—see vol. i., p. 298, note 2,—became count of Burgundy, about the year 995. His grandson, WILLIAM the Great, who died Nov. 1087, reunited to his inheritance the county of Mâcon, and acquired that of Vienne by marriage : he was the father of six sons, the chief of whom were REGINALD II., *Stephen*, Raymond (the husband of Donna Urraca, from whom sprang the royal line of Castille) and Guy, afterwards Pope Calixtus II. The son of Reginald II.—WILLIAM II., a worthy who is fabled to have been carried off from his palace at Mâcon by Satan himself—was the father of WILLIAM III., *the Child*. REGINALD III., the next count of Burgundy (called Franche-Comté, or the Free County, about this time), was the son of William's uncle Stephen and of *Beatrice*, daughter of Gerard of Alsatia, duke of Lorrain : his brother William, at the time of his accession, seized upon the whole of the county of Mâcon, part of which he already held, and also on that of Vienne ; but eventually agreed to pay homage for these acquisitions. Reginald died, June 1148, leaving a daughter, named BEATRICE ; who, in spite of her uncle, inherited his county, and was married to the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, June 1156.

In the year 1189, Frederic granted his late wife's county to his third son OTHO, who was now styled Count Palatine of Burgundy. Otho I.

malcontents while he was praying in a church, March 1127, *Reginald*, his first cousin once removed, refused to do homage for his dominions : he asserted that the county was no fief of the kingdom of Arles ; and that the German sovereign could not claim fealty, even for the lands beyond the Jura, as the Burgundian crown did not rightfully belong to him, but to the heirs of the Salic family. Lothaire put him under the ban of the Empire, and granted the forfeited benefice to *Conrad*, duke of *Zaehringen*, the maternal uncle of the late count : but in spite of this decree and the arms

was succeeded, Jan. 1200, by a daughter, another *BEATRICE*, afterwards married (June 1208) to *OTHO the Great*, duke of Merania ; whose dominions, on the death of his son *OTHO III.*, June 1248, were also inherited by daughters. The third of these—*ALICE of Merania*, on whom the reversion had been settled by her deceased brother—had the county of Burgundy : she was married to *HUGH of Châlons*, a descendant of William, count of Mâcon ; and thus the original family was re-instated in a fief which had passed out of it. Alice, who afterwards became the wife of Philip I., count of Savoy, was succeeded by *OTHO IV.*, the son of her first marriage, March 1279 ; and the latter, by his second wife Maud, heiress of Artois, had a son, *ROBERT the Infant*, who inherited his county, March 1303, and died in the year 1315.

The male line having again failed, Franche-Comté, and afterwards Artois, became the inheritance of Robert's sister, *JANE I.*, the wife of Philip the Long, king of France. When she deceased, Jan. 1330, these fiefs were united to the domains of Eudes IV., duke of Burgundy, the husband of her eldest daughter *JANE II.* ; but on the death of his grandson and successor *PHILIP*, Nov. 1361, they devolved upon her second daughter *MARGARET*, the dowager countess of Flanders. Margaret's son *LEWIS II.*, count of Flanders, had them after her death (May 1382) ; and when he also died, Jan. 1382, his only daughter *MARGARET*, who was married to Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, inherited them together with Flanders.—Thus Franche-Comté became again a possession of the ducal house of Burgundy, and formed part of that magnificent dower which Mary, the daughter of Charles the Bold, brought to Maximilian of Austria. By the treaty of Nimeguen, Sept. 1578, it was ceded by the Spaniards to the French who had conquered it.

of the duke, who fought hard to enforce it, the rebel lord remained master of what was now called the Free County (*Franche-Comté*)³. On the other hand, an important supporter had been gained over to the royal side. *Henry the Proud*, who had lately succeeded his father as duke of *Bavaria*, had even taken the field against his sister's husband *Frederic of Swabia*, having been married, May 1127, to the princess *Gertrude*, *Lothaire's* only daughter and the heiress besides of his wife's rich dower⁴: he afterwards had the reversion of the Countess *Matilda's* fiefs secured to him; and in the year 1136, he was invested with the duchy of *Saxony*. Such an accumulation of honours upon a man who seems to have had more pride than talent, was far from politic. The German princes looked on with fear and jealousy; which in the end made them unwilling to raise *Henry* to the imperial throne, the object which his father-in-law had most at heart.

The tide of fortune began to change in *Lothaire's* favour. Although he had once been forced to raise the siege of *Spires*, Nov. 1128, that city, when again beleaguered, capitulated after a gallant defence which had lasted nearly five months, Jan. 1130⁵; and in the same year, the authority of the crown was successfully asserted in the case of *Herman*, count of *Winzenburg*, then landgrave of *Thuringia*, who had treacherously murdered his vassal.

³ The contest was revived by a similar refusal to do homage, in the beginning of the next reign; and it only ended in the year 1148. Although *Conrad* failed in *Franche-Comté*, he retained the dignity of Rector, or governor, of the province, and succeeded in conquering the Swiss possessions of the late count.

⁴ *Gertrude* was hardly twelve years old at the time of her splendid wedding.

⁵ *Frederic of Swabia's* second wife, a niece of the archbishop of *Mentz*, was in the town during both sieges.

Herman's forfeited dignity of landgrave⁶ was bestowed upon count *Lewis*, the son of the Leaper, in whose family it remained'. After the fall of Spire, Frederic met with another very serious reverse: for, the next year, he was beaten at Gugenheim, by *Gebhard*, the warlike bishop of *Strasburg*, and most of his castles in Alsatia were taken. His brother Conrad also fled from Italy, Sept. 1132, when Lothaire had crossed the Alps as the champion of Pope Innocent II., by whom he was subsequently crowned at Rome (June 1133)⁷.

Before he set out on this expedition to Italy, Lothaire had invaded Sleswick, to avenge the murder of *Canute*, a Danish prince to whom, when an exile at his court, he had formerly given the kingdom of the Wends⁸. *Nicholas*, the king of Denmark, who was Canute's uncle, and his guilty son *Magnus* paid him 4000 golden marks to return home

⁶ A *landgrave* was the count of a province; a *margrave*—mark-graf, the graf, or count, of a march—is the same as a marquis.

⁷ For an account of the landgraves of Thuringia, see p. 38, note 6.

⁸ Lothaire had demanded from the Pope, in an interview at Lyons before he set out, the restoration of the right of investitures. His request was refused with horror; but by the mediation of St. Bernard, he was prevailed upon to uphold the cause of Innocent against Anacletus, and the usufruct of the Countess Matilda's fiefs was given to him as the price of his aid.

⁹ A Slavic prince, named HENRY, who had lately died, had subdued the Slavic country between the Elbe and the Baltic, and (with the Emperor's concurrence) had taken the title of King of the Wends. —CANUTE, or Peter Canute, duke of Sleswick and king of the Wends, was the son of *Eric I.*, of Denmark, on whose death his uncle Nicholas had seized the throne of that kingdom. His reputation had awakened the fears of his uncle and his cousin Magnus, by the latter of whom he was treacherously invited to a conference at Ringstedt in Zealand, and slain, Jan. 1131. This atrocity was the cause of a civil war; which ended in Magnus being slain in battle, at Scania, June 1134, and his father being murdered in Sleswick, a few weeks afterwards.

again ; and about three years afterwards, when the outrages suffered by the Germans in a civil war which had broken out in the North, called him back, the same king once more disarmed his anger by acknowledging himself his vassal (A.D. 1134). Another remarkable event at that time, was the aggrandizement of the Ascanian house of Anhalt, the Northern March¹ having been given to *Albert the Bear*, count of *Ballenstedt* and *Anhalt* ; who widened his new territory by conquests and concessions from the Slaves, and established himself at Brandenburg, which in after days, became the seat of an electorate². His children, a race of warlike and open-handed princes, trod in his steps : but

¹ The Northern, or North-Saxon March was the district afterwards known as the Old March of Brandenburg. The first margrave was *SIEGFRIED*, who died about the year 937. It was granted, in the year 1057, to *UDO I.*, count of *Stade* ; whose childless descendant, *UDO III.*, was killed, March 1130, while upholding the cause of *Herman of Winzenburg* against *Lothaire*. *CONRAD*, count of *Plöske*, had next held it for a short time only : he was slain in Italy (A.D. 1133).

² *ALBERT I., the Bear*,—the son of *Otho the Rich*, count of *Ballenstedt* and *Anhalt*, whose ancestors were counts of *Ascania*, and of *Billike* of *Saxony* (see p. 9, note 6),—had been deprived of *Lusatia* by *Lothaire* ; but had since been restored to favour, when he was thus made margrave of the North (A.D. 1134). A fruitless grant of the duchy of *Saxony* from *Conrad III.*, in the year 1138, afterwards drew him into a war with the *Guelfs*, during which he was driven out of most of his dominions ; yet he was able, in the end, to obtain an advantageous peace at *Frankfort*, May 1142. The Northern March was then erected into an immediate principality of the Empire, of which he and his successors became the Great Chamberlains ; and about the same time, by the will of *Prisiblaus*, king of the *Wends*, he got the country between the *Elbe* and the *Oder*, which was called the *Middle March* when the *Ascanian* margraves had wrested from the *Poles* the districts which formed the *New March*, or the *Uckermark*. The lands which he had gained, he planted with colonies of industrious *Hollanders* and *Zealanders* ; and he removed his residence thither from *Salzwedel* to *Brandenburg* on

the greatness which they achieved was doomed to a sudden end. For the two chief branches of the family—the

the Havel, a town which now gave its name to the margraviate. He also founded Berlin, on the Spree, in the year 1163.

Albert died, Nov. 1170, leaving six sons, of whom the eldest, OTHO I., was margrave of *Brandenburg*. The grandson of this Otho, ALBERT II.,—he married the heiress of Conrad of Lusatia, but could only obtain Upper Lusatia (see p. 41, note 1),—was succeeded at his death, Feb. 1221, by his sons JOHN I. and OTHO III., the Pious ; who, at first, held the margraviate conjointly, but afterwards divided it. The fief was re-united, Nov. 1317, by WALDEMAR, John I.'s grandson ; on the death of whose nephew, HENRY the Young, a child who hardly enjoyed his title a twelvemonth, the male line of the eldest branch became extinct, Sept. 1320. Henry's sister *Sophia* was allowed to have Landsberg, of which her husband Magnus the Pious, duke of Brunswic, received the investiture in the year 1333 ; but the claims of the princes of the house of Anhalt were set aside, and the Margraviate of Brandenburg, after being held by a series of princes of the houses of Bavaria and Luxemburg, eventually passed into the hands of the counts of Zollern.—One great cause of the growth of the power of the Ascanian margraves had been the influx of emigrants from Germany into the Slavic borders, which the native princes had encouraged. For not only was the Slavic population displaced, but the German dynasty became a common centre round which the colonists of a kindred race were sure to rally ; so that whatever was gained by conquest, by purchase, or by cession, was easily kept. Such was the popularity of the Ascanians, that a false Waldemar—a miller named *James Rebock*, who had been in the service of the deceased Waldemar, whom he resembled in person—found a number of supporters so late as the year 1348 ; and held his ground until the year 1355, when he withdrew his pretensions, the archbishop of *Magdeburg* and the Saxon and Anhalt princes who favoured him, having agreed to make peace with the Bavarian margrave in possession.

The youngest son of Albert the Bear, BERNARD, count of Anhalt, became the first of the Ascanian dukes of *Saxony* ; East Saxony and the circle of Wittemberg having been granted to him by Frederic Barbarossa, in the year 1180, at which time most of Angria and Westphalia was assigned as a duchy to the archbishops of Cologne. After some trouble, he was left in quiet possession of what had been

Ascanian margraves of Brandenburg, and the Ascanian dukes of Saxony—died away in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and their possessions were not inherited by any

given him ; and when he died, in the year 1212, his eldest son, ALBERT I., had the duchy of Saxony, while Anhalt and Ballenstedt were inherited by the second son, *Henry the Fat* : another *Henry*, the son of a second marriage, had Ascania. A further division took place on the death of Albert I., in the year 1260 ; the eldest son, ALBERT II., being duke of Saxe-Wittenberg (Upper or electoral Saxony), and the younger, JOHN I., being duke of Saxe-Lawenburg (Lower Saxony). Both these branches are now extinct. Saxe-Wittenberg, in the year 1422, on the death of Albert II.'s great grandson ALBERT III. (whose dominions, though claimed by the dukes of Saxe-Lawenburg, were bestowed by Sigismund upon Frederic of Misnia, the head of the house of Wettin, see p. 42, note 1) ; and Saxe-Lawenburg, Sept. 1689, when JULIUS FRANCIS, the last duke, died : his possessions were held in sequestration by the dukes of Brunswick Luneburg, the right of succession being disputed by a number of claimants.

The existing branches of *Anhalt* are derived from HENRY the Fat, Bernard of Saxony's second son ; who besides Anhalt and Ballenstedt, afterwards acquired the county of Ascania. About the year 1218, the Emperor Frederic II. declared him *prince* of Anhalt ; which is said to have been the first time that the title of prince was given as a distinct dignity. When Henry died, in the year 1152, his fiefs were divided among the three eldest of his five sons : two of these petty dynasties—those of Ascania and the original house of Bernburg—are now extinct, and the third, Zerbst-Dessau, is split into several lines. On the failure of the eldest branch (A.D. 1315), Ascania was lost to the house of Anhalt. *Elisabeth*, the widow of OTHO (the last prince), who had been allowed to hold it as her dowry, was prevailed upon, in the year 1322, to cede it to the church of Halberstadt, of which *Albert of Anhalt-Bernburg* was bishop ; and though Albert's nephew, BERNARD III. the *Despoiled*, got imperial decrees and even the judgment of an arbitrator in his favour, the bishops of Halberstadt kept the county by main force. Singularly enough, this cradle of the Ascanian family has fallen into the possession of the present house of Brandenburg ; the see of Halberstadt having been secularized, at the peace of Westphalia, and added to the domains of the electorate.

of their kinsmen, although there even now remain a number of counts and princes of Anhalt.

Urged by the Pope and St. Bernard to invade Italy again, Lothaire, at this time, made a fresh effort to get rid of the troubles in Germany which hampered him. Henry the Proud, who anticipated his father-in-law by over-running Swabia, and had pillaged and burned Ulm, the enemy's chief arsenal, was driven back by duke Frederic; but the blow which was thus dealt, and the advance of the Emperor himself, had such an effect upon that warlike prince, whose friends were fast falling away from him, that he lost all hope. Having come barefoot before Lothaire, at Fulda, Frederic threw himself upon his mercy; and the next year, owing to the intercession of Richensa, he was pardoned at the diet of Bamberg, March 1135. At another diet, which was held at Muhlhausen the following October, Conrad also submitted and was forgiven. Both the brothers agreed to march with the Emperor to Italy.

The second Italian expedition was far more brilliant than the former one. Pope Innocent II. was brought triumphantly into Rome; and for a while, Robert of Capua recovered his possessions, and the pride and power of king Roger of Sicily were well-nigh broken³. On his way homewards, Lothaire was taken ill at Trent; yet he went on with his journey, until he stopped at a wretched hut, in one of the wildest parts of the neighbouring Tyrolese mountains, and there he died, Dec. 1137.

THE SWABIAN EMPERORS AND THEIR OPPONENTS.

A. D. 1138. *Conrad III. Henry the Proud put under the ban of the Empire.*

1139. *Death of Henry the Proud.*

³ For the account of this expedition, see vol. i., p. 345, and pp. 391, 392.

A. D. 1140. Battle and Siege of Weinsberg.

1142. Henry the Lion confirmed in Saxony ; Henry of Austria, in Bavaria ; Albert the Bear, in the Northern March.—Uladislaua of Bohemia restored.

1147. *The Second Crusade.* Conrad passes into Asia.

1149. Conrad returns from Asia.

1150. Death of Henry, king of the Romans.

1152. Conrad III. dies.

CONRAD III., the self-same duke of Franconia who had lately been made to give up his pretensions to the throne, was next chosen to be king of Germany, at Coblentz, Feb. 1138 ; and was crowned, in the following month, at Aix-la-Chapelle, by the Pope's legate⁴. He had become as much liked as Henry the Proud, his rival, was hated, and the Pope was on his side ; so that the Saxons and their partisans—although displeased at the way in which the election had been hurried on by *Adalbero*, the archbishop of *Treves*, and the friends of the house of Swabia⁵—yielded at once, when summoned to take the oath of fealty, on Whit-Sunday, at Bamberg. Even Richensa complied ; and Henry himself, who would not come, afterwards appeared at Ratisbon, on St. Peter's day, and delivered up the imperial ornaments of his father-in-law, which were still in his hands.

Conrad now availed himself of the jealousy which Henry's great possessions had aroused, to force him to resign one of his duchies. The proud duke refused to enter Augsburg,

⁴ The archbishopric of Mentz was then vacant, Adalbert having recently died ; and the archbishop of Cologne could not officiate, as he was newly appointed and had not yet received his pall.

⁵ The election was to have taken place at Mentz, on Whit-Sunday, May 15. But it was feared that a hostile archbishop might be chosen by that time in the room of Adalbert ; and that a number of Saxons and Bavarians would come up with Henry the Proud, and turn the scale in his favour. As there had been a coolness between the Pope and Lothaire of late, the legate readily played into the hands of the Swabian party.

whither he had been cited, but abode in the neighbourhood with a large body of armed men; on which Conrad thought fit to remove in haste to Wurtzburg, and there he had him put under the ban of the Empire. At another diet, held at Christmastide in the palace of Goslar, both the duchies were declared to be forfeited; and that of Saxony was then granted to Albert the Bear, the adversary of the Guelfs⁶ and equally descended from its ancient dukes, while Bavaria was bestowed upon *Leopold the Liberal*, margrave of *Austria*, Conrad's half-brother. Thus he who boasted that his sway did reach from sea to sea, from the frontiers of Denmark on the Baltic coasts to the borders of the kingdom of Sicily on the shores of the Mediterranean, was suddenly brought low; and when the imperial crown had been almost within his grasp, he found himself without a rood of land which he could call his own, and with hardly an adherent who would stand by him. He withdrew into Bavaria, his hereditary duchy; but after a few feeble efforts,—he had more courage than talent⁷,—he had to leave it by stealth, with only four companions in his flight. In Saxony, however, whither he next betook himself, he fared better. There, the aid of Richensa, and the regard in which Lothaire's memory was held by the people, stood him in good stead: for Albert the Bear was not only driven out, but so hard was he pressed at home, that he had to get Conrad to come and help him. A truce was then made with Henry⁸, during which he died at Quedlinburg, on his

⁶ Owing to his claims on the allodial possessions of the house of Billing, from which the Ascanian, as well as the Guelfic princes, were descended in the female line. See p. 9, note 6.

⁷ Dogged courage has ever been the characteristic of his descendants. Although barren in great generals, no house can boast of so many princes who have fought and died bravely on the battle-field.

⁸ It was negotiated by Adalbero of Treves; who is said to have disarmed Henry's Saxon chiefs by a judicious present of several casks of good Moselle wine.

way to Bavaria, Sept. 1139; and was succeeded in Saxony by his son *Henry the Lion*, then a child about ten years old.

In Bavaria, *Welf*, count of *Altorf*, the brother of the deceased duke, was still fighting for the forfeited rights of his house. He gave Leopold of Austria such a check, when the latter tried to take the castle of Falley, Aug. 1140, that Conrad had again to hasten to the aid of his friends: but at the end of that year, he was close beset by the German king at Weinsberg; and though he sallied forth from thence, he was beaten by Frederic of Swabia, in a bloody battle⁹, and the place which had sheltered him was left to its fate. The next thing of importance that happened, was the death of Leopold, Oct. 1141; which was followed in another month by that of Richensa. His brother *Henry*¹, who now became margrave of *Austria*, got the grant of Bavaria renewed, and also married Richensa's daughter Gertrude, the widowed mother of Henry the Lion; so that that young prince was prevailed upon for her sake to forego his claims to the duchy which his house had lost. It was therefore settled in the diet at Frankfort, at the time of the wedding, May 1142, that Henry the Lion should renounce Bavaria and receive the investiture of Saxony; and that Albert the Bear, whose hopes of a dukedom had been disappointed, should have his conquered territory restored to him, and hold the Northern March immediately of the

⁹ It was in this battle that the shouts of "Hie Welf!" and "Hie Weibelingen" were raised. See p. 46, note 9. Frederic is said to have been born at Weibeling.—When Weinsberg surrendered to Conrad, he would only, we are told, allow the women and children to go free. The good wives begged so hard not to be sent empty away, that he let them take whatever they themselves could carry; on which they came staggering out with their husbands on their backs!

¹ This sad swearer was nick-named *Jasomirgott* (So help me God!).

Empire. Welf, however, would have nothing to say to this compromise ; but continued to give trouble².

These matters being arranged, Conrad passed over into Bohemia, where he upheld *Uládislaus IV.* against *Conrad*, marquis of *Moravia*³, whom the Hungarians abetted. He had likewise thoughts of an expedition into Italy ; but before his plans were ripe, the tidings of the fall of Edessa had reached Europe, and men's minds were full of the Second Crusade. When St. Bernárd came to preach it, Conrad, who had already been in the Holy Land, turned a deaf ear to him at first ; but the saint followed him to Spire, Christmas 1146, and spoke with such power and earnestness, that he stood forth with the tears in his eyes, and crying out that he could no longer remain unthankful to God, took the cross. The king's nephew, Frederic Barbarossa, the duke of Swabia's son⁴, and a host of princes and lords also did the same ; and even Welf, to whom a truce was proffered, for a while forgot his feuds to join in the war against the unbelievers⁵. His eldest son *Henry* having been crowned as his successor, Conrad began his march on Ascension Day, May 1147, at the head of a vast army ; but about two years afterwards, he returned without glory from an undertaking in which nothing but disaster had befallen him. In the course of another twelvemonth, he had to mourn for the death of Henry.

² Though opposed by his nephew, he was encouraged by Roger, king of Sicily, and by the Hungarians ; the latter of whom had afterwards to humble themselves before Conrad, when he marched through their country on his way to the Holy Land.

³ This Conrad belonged to a different branch from that of Otho of Moravia.

⁴ Frederic of Swabia, whose health was declining, died a few weeks afterwards, heart-broken at his son's departure.

⁵ When he returned, he again ravaged Bavaria, until he was defeated by Henry of Austria and Conrad's eldest son, Feb. 1150.

Conrad never was crowned at Rome, nor did he style himself Emperor, except in his negotiations with the Greeks. He was on the eve of going to Italy for that purpose, and also to humble Roger of Sicily⁶, when he died at Bamberg, Feb. 1152. His last act was to entrust to the care of Frederic Barbarossa his imperial ornaments and his only remaining son, *Frederic of Rothenburg*; who was too young to reign, but was allowed to have his duchy of Franconia, to which those of Swabia and Alsatia were added by the new sovereign.

A.D. 1152. *Frederic I., Barbarossa*. Sweyn III., of Denmark, confirmed at Merseburg.

1154. Henry the Lion gets Bavaria. First expedition into Italy.

1155. Fall of Tortona. Frederic crowned at Rome.

1156. Frederic marries Beatrice of Franche-Comté.—Austria created into a duchy.

1157. Polish war. Diet at Besançon.

1158. Second expedition into Italy. Milan taken; Diet at Roncaglia.

1159. Milan revolts. War with Pope Alexander III.—Henry the Lion defeats Nielot.

1160. Crema taken. Battle of Cassano.

1162. Milan burned.

1163. Frederic again visits Italy.

1164. Veronese League.—The Wendish wars renewed.

1166. Third expedition into Italy.

1167. The Lombard League; Milan rebuilt. Frederic (crowned by the antipope) retreats from Rome.

1168. Alessandria built. The feuds of Henry the Lion settled.

1169. Henry crowned king of the Romans. Cession of Tuscany by Welf.

1174. Siege of Ancona. Fourth expedition into Italy.

1175. Siege of Alessandria raised. Henry the Lion desert Frederic.

1176. *Battle of Legnano*. Peace with Cremona and Tortona.

1177. Frederic reconciled with the Pope at Venice. Six years' truce with the Lombards.

⁶ Roger was therefore accused of having got him poisoned.

- A. D. 1178. Frederic crowned at Arles.
 1180. *Henry the Lion put under the ban of the Empire.*—Otho of Wittelsbach gets Bavaria, and Bernard of Ascania is made duke of Saxony.
 1181. Siege of Lubeck. Pomerania included in the Empire.
 1182. Submission of Henry the Lion at Erfurt.
 1183. Peace of Constance.
 1184. Diet of Mentz. Frederic visits Italy.
 1186. Henry of Germany marries Constantia of Sicily.
 1189. *Third Crusade.* Frederic sets out for Asia.
 1190. Death of Frederic Barbarossa.

FREDERIC I., *Barbarossa* (or the Red Beard), was duly elected at Frankfort, March 1152, and forthwith crowned, at Aix-la-Chapelle, by *Arnulf*, the archbishop of *Cologne*¹. A fine, strong man, with a high forehead, piercing eyes, and a noble bearing, he had also a mind and soul of commanding power; and even in early youth, during the wars of his uncle with the foes of his house, and afterwards in the East, he had already won a renown which marked him as sure to achieve greatness. In his love of truth, and in the generosity of his character, he was the pattern of princes: but his uprightness was sullied by his overweening pride, and his zeal for justice would degenerate into cold-blooded ferocity. Under his sway, the imperial authority, which had dwindled to a mere shadow, recovered much of its former grandeur, and made itself felt and dreaded. He was hardly seated upon his throne than he baffled the Pope's legates, when they tried to interfere with his right of arbitrating in episcopal elections; and at the diet of Merseburg, he received the homage of *Sweyn III.* of Denmark, whom he confirmed in the possession of a disputed crown, both parties having appealed to him as their sovereign lord².

¹ On the 1st of May, he was likewise crowned—or rather, he publicly assumed the crown—at Ratisbon, then the capital of Bavaria.

² Sweyn, however, when he returned home, did not fulfil the conditions by which he had got rid of a civil war; and he protested against

Although of Ghibelin race, Frederic was of the same blood with the Guelfs, his mother being the sister of Henry the Proud. Instead therefore of keeping up the feud between the two families, he treated Henry the Lion like a cousin, displaying indeed far more kindness than political foresight. As the latter still claimed the duchy which he had renounced when a child, the case was referred to the decision of the German princes ; and after several fruitless attempts to settle it⁹, it was decreed at Goslar, in the year 1154, that Henry of Austria, who had contumaciously refused to attend, should give up Bavaria to his youthful rival. This judgment was by no means approved of ; nor was it until after his return from Italy, where his cousin had saved his life in the sedition at Rome after his coronation, that Frederic could get the deprived duke to acquiesce in it. It was then agreed, at Ratisbon, Sept. 1156, that Henry the Lion, who was put in possession of Bavaria, should cede to his stepfather his rights of lordship over the old Eastern March¹ ; and that Austria should be erected into a highly privileged duchy, immediate of the Empire and heritable by females². Three years before, *Ulric* of

an act which necessity had wrung from him. After a hateful career of tyranny and bloodshed, he was overthrown, Oct. 1157, by *Waldemar the Great*, the son of *Peter Canute* (king of the Wends, see p. 50, note 9).

⁹ At the diets of Wurtzburg, Oct. 1152 ; Worms, May 1153, and Spire, Dec. 1153.

¹ The country now called Upper Austria, which the river *Enns*, its eastern boundary, divides from the lower part of the archduchy. When Henry of Austria gave up Bavaria, he delivered seven standards to Henry the Lion ; and from the latter he received two standards, as the investiture of the Eastern March.

² The first hereditary margraves of Austria were descended from the counts of Bamberg. About the year 928, *LEOPOLD I.*, the *Illustrious*, the founder of the dynasty, received investiture as margrave from Henry the Fowler. *HENRY I.*, the son of Leopold, was the father of *ALBERT I.*, the *Victorious* ; who, with his son and successor, *ERNEST*

Lenzburg (who had succeeded Henry the Proud as margrave of *Tuscany*) being dead, the March of *Tuscany*, as well as

the Valiant, gained much glory in the war against Ubo of Hungary, A.D. 1041—1044. Ernest the Valiant, when margrave, took the part of the rebel Saxons against Henry IV., and was slain in the battle on the Unstrut June, 1075; nor was his son, LEOPOLD II., *the Fair*, more loyal. The latter was sentenced by Henry to forfeit Austria: but he baffled the hostile attempts of the king of Bohemia, to whom it had been granted; repelled the incursions of the Hungarians; and when he died, Oct. 1096, was succeeded by his renowned son, St. LEOPOLD III., *the Pious*, the second husband of Agnes (the daughter of Henry IV., and widow of Frederic of Hohenstauffen). St. Leopold died in November, 1136, and was quickly followed to the grave by his eldest son ALBERT II., *the Devout*; his second son, LEOPOLD IV., the Liberal, who was made duke of Bavaria by Conrad III., died childless, like his brother, Oct. 1141; and his third son was HENRY II., *Jasomirgott*, who was created duke of Austria (Sept. 1156), and who raised Vienna to the rank of a capital. This duke being killed by a fall from his horse, Jan. 1177, LEOPOLD V.—his child by his second wife, *Theodora*, a Greek princess—inherited Austria; who went twice to the Holy Land (where he became the enemy of Richard of England), and was about to go a third time, when his death was caused by a fall from his horse, Dec. 1194. Leopold's dominions were divided between his sons, FREDERIC I., *the Catholic*, and LEOPOLD VI., *the Glorious*; the latter of whom had Styria, but afterwards became duke of Austria, when his brother, who had fought against the Infidels in Spain, died unmarried in the Holy Land, Aug. 1198. He likewise fought in Spain, and went twice to the Holy Land, besides being a crusader against the Albigenses in the south of France: on his accession to Austria, he repelled a fierce onslaught of the Hungarians; and about three years before his death,—he died in Italy, July 1230,—he was involved in a war with his eldest son, *Henry the Impious*, a wretch who would have spared neither father nor mother, and whose days were cut short by the hand of God. The second son, FREDERIC II. *the Warlike*, was the last duke of the house of Bamberg. He extended his sway over Carniola, and displayed much bravery in his fierce struggles with the Hungarians and Bohemians; but he was so profligate and rapacious, that his namesake, the Emperor Frederic II., cited him to Augsburg, in the year 1236, to answer the complaints which his

the duchy of Spoleto and the allodial lands of the Countess Matilda, had been bestowed upon Welf, count of Altorf:

subjects brought against him : he would not appear, and became a proscribed exile. At the end of four years, he returned when the Emperor was away in Italy, and regained his lost dominions ; after which he managed to get himself pardoned. He was at last killed by falling under his horse, when wounded in the eye by an arrow as he was routing the Hungarians, June 1246.

Austria was now seized by ULADISLAUS, margrave of Moravia and second son of Wenceslaus III. of Bohemia, who claimed it in right of his wife *Gertrude*, the daughter of Henry the Impious. On his death without children, in the following year, HERMAN VI., the margrave of Baden, married Gertrude, and obtained investiture of the duchy from the anti-Cæsar William, count of Holland : but he also died soon, Oct. 1256, leaving a son, named Frederic,—the Frederic of Austria who was beheaded with Conradin (see vol. i., p. 410),—and a daughter, *Agnes*, afterwards married to Mainard, count of Tyrol, Conradin's stepfather (see vol. i., p. 408, note 9). At the tidings of his death, Otho the Illustrious, duke of Bavaria, the husband of his maternal aunt (see vol. i., p. 408, note 9), sent an army into Austria ; but the states of that province resolved to offer the duchy to Henry the Illustrious, margrave of Misnia, whose first wife was *Constance*, the second daughter of Leopold VI., by whom he left no children ; and deputies were sent, who stopped at Prague on their way, and were persuaded by Wenceslaus III. to make choice of his eldest son OTTOCAR, now margrave of Moravia, and subsequently king of Bohemia. Ottocar could not marry Gertrude, as her first husband was his own brother ; so he took to wife *Margaret*, the eldest daughter of Leopold VI. and the widow of Henry, king of the Romans (Frederic II.'s son) : this woman, who was much older than himself, he put away, in the year 1261, in spite of the Pope's refusal to grant him a divorce. Gertrude, wedded for the third time, had become the wife of one *Romanus*, a Russian prince : but she was driven out of Austria, being forsaken even by her husband, when she was about to give birth to a daughter, and was fain to go to her aunt at Misnia. She ended her life in a convent.

The tyranny of Ottocar caused deep discontent in Austria, and brought upon him a war with Rodolf of Habsburg, whom he would not acknowledge as emperor. Rodolf forced him to give up Austria, Styria, and Carinthia, Dec. 1276 ; and granted two of these duchies

Frederic had early made up his mind to bring Italy under his yoke. Pope Eugenius III. had appealed to him against Arnold of Brescia and the Roman citizens, and Robert of Capua had come in person to implore his aid for the Apulian barons against the encroachments of the king of Sicily³; so that at Wurtzburg, Oct. 1152, he had promised to march to their help, and his nobles had sworn to follow him. At another diet, held in March, at Constance, two citizens of fallen Lodi⁴, bearing crosses as suppliants, threw themselves at his feet, and with tears besought him to free their country from the bondage of Milan which had crushed it. Glad to have gotten such a handle against a city of which the wealth and power had become the objects of his dread, he sent a letter to the Milanese consuls, bidding them cease from oppressing Lodi: the mandate was snatched out of the hands of his messenger, its seal was torn off, and it was trampled under foot⁵. The next year, while the people of Milan were attacking Pavia and Cremona for having also denounced their ambition, Frederic crossed the Alps with a large army, Oct. 1154; and convened a diet

to his own children, thus establishing the Habsburg house of Austria. Carinthia was afterwards assigned, in a diet at Augsburg, Dec. 1282, to Mainard, count of Tyrol, Conradin's stepfather; who renounced all the other pretensions of his second wife Agnes, it being stipulated that the duchy should revert to the house of Habsburg, should his male line ever fail—a condition which was fulfilled on the death of his youngest son, April 1336.

³ See the account of the Popes, vol. i., pp. 345, 346; and of the affairs of Sicily, vol. i., p. 394.

⁴ Old Lodi—the new city was rebuilt on another site—was destroyed by the Milanese, June 1111, and its oppressed inhabitants distributed among six villages. In the year 1118, Como was also attacked; and after a war of ten years, its walls were dismantled.

⁵ They did not, however, molest the people of Lodi; who were so cowed, that their consuls disavowed the complaints which had been made, and their women and children were sent away into the neighbouring towns for safety.

of the Italian kingdom, in the plains of Roncaglia, near Placentia, at which the magistrates of Lodi and of Como openly called upon him to redress the wrongs which they had suffered. The Milanese were unable to avert the storm which now burst upon themselves and their subject allies, the citizens of Brescia, Tortona, and Crema: their territory was ravaged; the towns of Cairo (Chieri) and Asti⁶, from which the frightened inhabitants had fled, were pillaged and set on fire; Tortona was besieged, Feb. 1155, and though but a small place, only yielded at the end of sixty-two days, when it was burned to the ground, its gallant defenders, whom nothing but thirst had overcome, being allowed to go free. Frederic entered Pavia in April, and was triumphantly crowned as king; but thence, to the no slight relief of his foes in Lombardy, he turned himself southward and hastened on to Rome, where he obtained the imperial crown also from Pope Adrian, on St. Peter's day, June 1155. After a short stay which had been troubled by disputes with the Pope and an outbreak of the citizens⁷, he left Rome in time to escape the fevers of the dog days; and led his troops into the mountains about Spoleto, an unhappy city which was sacked and burned for its disloyalty. He would now have gone forth to achieve the conquest of Southern Italy, Apulia and Campania having risen against William the Bad⁸: but his was a feudal army, and he was obliged to break it up at Ancona, his Germans being impatient to return home. On his way back, he and the detachment which was with him had the good luck not to be surprised and cut off by the people of Verona; who had attempted to break a purposely ill-constructed bridge of

⁶ William the Old, marquis of Montferrat, had complained of these towns; the bishop of Asti also denouncing his own flock.

⁷ For an account of these events, see vol. i., pp. 346, 347.

⁸ The Pope and the Greek emperor were also against William. See vol. i., p. 394.

boats during his passage over it. This was a bridge which they had built outside their walls by ancient right, so as not to admit his soldiers into their town.

The following Christmas, Frederic condemned *Herman III.*, the *Count Palatine*, and ten other nobles, at Worms, to the punishment of the *Harneskar*, for having troubled the peace of the country in his absence : it was part of the system of his strong rule to put down private wars in Germany, and to bring all thieves and robbers to justice. A few months afterwards, Herman died in a monastery, and his fief and office were given by the Emperor to his own brother, *Conrad of Swabia*⁹. Frederic himself, who (at

⁹ The first Count Palatine of the Rhine, *HERMAN I., the Small*,—his domains were in the modern duchies of Juliers and Berg, and not in the Palatinate,—owed his creation to Otho the Great, in the year 966. *HENRY II.*, the last of that family, died in April 1095 ; whose stepson, *SIEGFRIED of Ballenstedt*, became Count Palatine, about the year 1099, and afterwards perished in his rebellion against Henry V., March 1113 (see p. 38). Siegfried's son *WILLIAM* was for some years kept out from succeeding his father : he eventually died childless, Feb. 1140, and while his counties of Orlamund and Weimar were adjudged to his cousin Albert the Bear, *HENRY of Austria* (*Jasomirgott*) was made Palatine of the Rhine in his stead. In the year 1142, Henry, having recently become margrave of Austria and duke of Bavaria, gave up his Palatine dignity. It was then conferred upon the count of *Staldeck*, the *HERMAN III.* whose feud with *Arnulf*, archbishop of *Mentz*, brought him into trouble with the Emperor.

The accession of *CONRAD of Swabia*, in the year 1156, forms an era in the history of the Palatinate. For Frederic Barbarossa not only annexed to his brother's title large domains on the Upper Rhine, but allowed him to be the *advocatus* of eleven great churches, among which were Treves, Strasburg, and Worms ; and the bishop of Worms granted him the castle of Heidelberg, and several fiefs. Dying, Nov. 1195, Conrad was succeeded by the husband of his only child *Agnes*, *HENRY of Saxony* (*the Long and the Fair*), Henry the Lion's eldest son ; who, when his brother Otho IV. ascended the throne, got a grant of most of the Frank Rhenane duchy. In the

Constance, March 1153) had put away his wife *Adelaide* of *Hochburg*, now got the immediate sovereignty of Upper Burgundy by marriage: he became the husband of *Beatrice*, the rightful heiress of that county, at Wurtzburg, June 1156; having rescued her from her grasping uncle, *William*, count of *Mâcon*, who had shut her up in a tower. He did not, however, take up the quarrel of his bride's family with the house of *Zaehringen*; but he hastened to make a fair arrangement with Duke *Berthold*, in the same spirit in which—as was already told—he settled, that summer, the feud between Henry the Lion and his Austrian rival. The next year,—after he had marched, in the month of August, into Poland, and by ravaging the country had forced *Boleslaus IV.* to throw himself at his feet¹,—he held, in October, a grand diet of the whole Burgundian kingdom, at *Besançon*, being the undisputed master of nearly one-fourth of modern France: it was there that Pope Adrian's legates behaved with such arrogance², that they were commanded forthwith to return to Rome, and the clergy of the Empire were forbidden to resort thither without leave from their

beginning of the year 1214, Henry was put under the ban of the Empire by Frederic II., at Ratisbon, and his dominions were given to Lewis I., duke of Bavaria; but the death of his son Henry, in May, enabled him to make a compromise with his opponents, his eldest daughter, another *Agnes*, being contracted to Otto the *Illustrious*, Lewis' son and heir. This marriage did not take place until the year 1225; and, two years afterwards, when Henry died, the Palatinate passed into the possession of the house of Wittelsbach.—See p. 86, note 9.

¹ Frederic had espoused the cause of *Uladislaus II.*, his elder sister *Christina's* husband, whom Boleslaus, a younger brother, had deposed some years before. Boleslaus now paid a large tribute, gave hostages, and made promises which he afterwards evaded; though in the year 1163, he finally yielded up Silesia to the children of *Uladislaus*. Thus Silesia became detached from Poland.

² See also the account of Pope Adrian's pontificate, vol. i., p. 347, note 2.

bishops. Frederic claimed, as Cæsar, to be lord paramount over all powers and dominions on earth; and at Ratisbon, where presents were brought him from the Hungarians, he exercised his prerogative, Jan. 1158, by giving the title of king to Uladislau IV. of Bohemia, as a reward for his services in the Polish war ³.

In the meanwhile, Milan was still untamed. Its citizens rebuilt Tortona, as soon as the Germans had withdrawn from Lombardy; they compelled the people of Pavia to make peace, and routed the troops of the marquis of *Montferrat*; and at last, they appeared before Lodi, Jan. 1158, and after having pillaged and driven out the inhabitants, they left it a heap of ashes. Nor were things better in the south of Italy. Robert of Capua had been overpowered, and the Pope had leagued himself with the king of Sicily ⁴. Frederic, therefore, without any further delay, undertook a second expedition; and at Whitsuntide, from his camp near Augsburg, where he had been joined by the king of Bohemia and the flower of the nobles and warriors of the Empire, he led forth a huge host of more than a hundred thousand men, which streamed through the various mountain passes into Lombardy, and was swollen by accessions from almost every town and city. Brescia dared indeed for a few days to withstand him, but was glad to buy peace and give hostages, July 1158 ⁵; the bridge of Cassano was abandoned by its defenders, the king of Bohemia having, at the cost of many lives, boldly forded the Adda, flooded as it was by the melting of the Alpine snows; and while

³ As in the case of the duke's grandfather, WRATISLAUS II. (created king of Bohemia, at Mentz, by the emperor Henry IV., June 1075), the title was only personal, and not inherited by his children.

⁴ For these events, see again vol. i., pp. 394, 395.

⁵ A diet was now held, to which the Milanese were summoned. They offered a ransom, which was refused, and were put under the ban of the Empire.

the foundations of a new Lodi were laid, Milan was beleaguered, in the beginning of August, and its starving people beheld the wasting of their fields, which the vengeance of Pavia and Cremona was overspreading with bloodshed and havoc. When their spirit had been broken by the hardships of a month's siege, Sept. 1158, they came out barefoot to ask for pardon, the clergy with crosses in their hands, and the rest, according to their rank, with either naked swords or halters hanging about their necks: three hundred hostages were demanded of them, and Lodi and Como were to be free. The other terms of the capitulation were fair enough: but they became a dead letter, the following November, when, at the diet of Roncaglia, the Emperor and his doctors of civil law trampled upon the privileges of the lords and cities of Italy⁶. Milan and her allies were then taught what it is to have been conquered. To gratify the spite of Cremona, the walls of Placentia were thrown down, and Crema was bidden to dismantle her defences; Monza and other districts were likewise arbitrarily severed from Milan, and that city was to have her magistrates overridden by an imperial podestat. Frederic's messengers, however, were driven out of Crema; and *Reginald*, his chancellor, and *Otho*, the count palatine of *Wittelsbach*, whom he had sent to Milan, had to save themselves by a hasty flight from being torn to pieces: the courage of despair had been aroused, and the crushed people had taken up arms once more to fight for freedom.

At the time of the revolt, Frederic was encamped at Bologna with an army which was much dwindled, many of the Germans having gone home in the winter; and he was hampered by disputes with Pope Adrian⁷: all that he

⁶ See vol. i., p. 302. Frederic was politic enough to let his subjects exercise regalian rights on sufferance, compositions being paid him yearly which amounted to 30,000 pounds of silver.

⁷ Adrian asserted that the Emperor could not claim *foderum* at

could do, at first, was to put Milan under the ban of the Empire, and to ravage her territory. In the month of July, the active hatred of Cremona, and the arrival of fresh troops from Germany, enabled him to lay siege to Crema; which only yielded after its engineer was bought over and its outer wall had been carried, huge battering towers having been built, deadly assaults both made and met, and dark deeds of vindictive cruelty committed, Jan. 1160⁸. About twenty thousand men, women, and children, were then allowed to go forth unscathed; but the town was pillaged by the soldiers, and when they had burnt it, the Cremonese did not leave one stone upon another. When Crema had fallen, the Emperor was weakened by the return of most of his German troops to their own land⁹; and Pope Adrian having lately died, he got himself involved in a war with the new pontiff, Alexander III., whose election he had opposed, and whom the Milanese hailed as a champion of their cause. Nothing therefore of importance was done in the field that year. When Frederic marched, in August, to relieve Cassano, he was beaten by the Milanese, though

Rome (see p. 301, note 8), except at the time of his coronation; that the Italian bishops owed him fealty, but no homage; and that the Holy See had a right to all that had belonged to the countess Matilda. Frederic would only now write to him as an inferior, putting his own name first, and addressing him in the second person singular, which by no means softened him.

⁸ There were prisoners hanged on both sides; and Frederic once fastened in front of his battering towers forty hostages, most of whom were the children of the defenders. Nine of them were killed. The Italians were, however, more cruel to each other than even the Germans, or the Emperor himself, though he had been provoked by attempts to poison and to murder him.

⁹ There only remained with him, besides his own followers and the Italians of his party, his cousin Conrad, duke of Swabia and Franconia, and the two counts palatine of the Rhine and of Bavaria (his brother Conrad, and Otho of Wittelsbach, the latter of whom had highly distinguished himself in the late siege).

a reinforcement had been brought him by the king of Bohemia, and he had cut his way to the sacred car which bore their standard¹: but the fruits of their victory were afterwards lost, owing to a successful sally of the beleaguered garrison.

Frederic had vowed not to wear his crown until he was fully avenged of Milan, and his countrymen were ashamed to forsake him. In June 1161, as great a host as ever came swarming over the mountains to his help; and overpowering all resistance, ravaged the fields around Milan again and again, cutting off every supply of food from the doomed city, which was once more besieged and starved. It held out, notwithstanding, until the beginning of March, 1162, when the eight consuls, with eight knights, were sent to the Emperor's head-quarters at Lodi, most humbly to announce its unconditional surrender, all attempts to get better terms having only met with scorn. At his command, the proud chivalry of Milan had to bring their swords, which, with the keys and all the standards and banners of the city, were laid at his feet²; its six gates were then levelled to the ground by the hands of the people themselves, who, after a short delay, were finally bidden to abandon their homes. On Lady Day, the Emperor entered the deserted city with his army; and the trainbands of Pavia, Cremona, Lodi, Como, and other such deadly foes, had each of them one of its six divisions to rifle and destroy. Four

¹ The *Carroccio*, as it was called, was a car, painted red, and drawn by four yoke of oxen, on the top of which, on a sort of mast, was a gilded cross and the banner of St. Ambrose. The cross, Frederic had beaten down, and the oxen were killed.

² It was on the 1st of March, that the consuls were sent; on the 3rd, came the knights, the city keys, and thirty-six standards; on the 5th, nearly one hundred standards, and the "*Carroccio*" itself, were brought before the Emperor, to whom the mast on the sacred car which bore aloft the standard of St. Ambrose, was lowered. He then chose out four hundred hostages from the suppliant crowd.

unwalled boroughs were now built in the neighbourhood for the wretched Milanese to dwell in.

The overthrow of Milan was as if a judgment had fallen upon Lombardy. Not a soul dared to be free. The affrighted townsmen of Brescia and Placentia threw down their walls, and let themselves be heavily fined; and not only they, but even most of the Italian cities which had fought on the conqueror's own side, had to be ruled by the Emperor's podestats, and had to bear with every sort of insolence and exaction from these hated strangers³. In some places, two-thirds of the produce of the lands are said to have been eaten up by their insatiable demands. When Frederic, who had returned to Germany, visited Italy in the following year, complaints poured in from the oppressed districts, which drew from him nothing better than a few fair promises; so that the hearts of the people were filled with rage and despair. One more atrocity was even sanctioned by him. Leave to demolish the walls of Tortona was given to his partisans in Pavia, who took care to destroy the houses as well.

The inhabitants of the Veronese March, who had stood aloof during the late troubles, had begun to chafe under the yoke of arbitrary power. In the year 1164, finding that their complaints also were unheeded, their chief cities, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, and Treviso, formed a league in which they were joined by Venice, to restrain the rights of the Emperor to their former bounds⁴; and though Frederic

³ Things were made worse by the severity of Reginald, the chancellor, whom the Emperor, when he returned home in the summer, sent to rule in Lombardy as vicar-general of the Empire.—This worthy, who was now archbishop-elect of Cologne, carried off from Milan the bodies venerated as the relics of the Magi under the names of Gaspar, Melchior, and Balthazar, and enshrined them in his own cathedral church. These are the three kings of Cologne.

⁴ There is reason to believe that Greek money and Greek diplomacy

marched against them at once, he saw that he could not rely upon the Lombards, and that he must needs retreat in haste. Unhappily for him, he could not, at this crisis, get his German subjects to move in his cause. Their attention was wholly engaged by a feud which had broken out between Welf of Bavaria and the count palatine of *Tubingen*; the latter of whom was supported by Frederic of Rothenburg, and by the Bohemians, whose incursions left a wide track of desolation from their own borders as far as the lake of Constance. Unable to take as high a tone as he was wont, Frederic at last thought it best to prevail upon the count to give way.

It was not therefore until the fall of the year 1166, that Frederic came down, like an eagle from its eyry, with all the might of the Empire, into Italy, to avenge himself upon his enemies. He delayed, however, to strike a decisive blow against the northern confederacy, offering even to redress grievances (perhaps in the hope of sowing dissension); and early in January, he turned aside from Lombardy and passed on slowly towards Bologna, where the citizens had slain one of his ministers: he wasted its lands, and extorted a large contribution from it, doing the same to other towns in Romagna which had sided with the Pope. While he was thus employed, the Veronese sent envoys to all the aggrieved Lombard districts, to get them also to combine in the cause of freedom. At this appeal, delegates from Cremona itself (hitherto one of the foremost on the Emperor's side), and from Bergamo, Brescia, Mantua, Ferrara, and the dispersed Milanese, secretly met in a monastery, April 1167, and settled the conditions of a Lombard League¹. It had hardly begun to be set on foot,

were at the bottom of this combination, Manuel Comnenus being jealous and afraid of Frederic Barbarossa.

¹ For an account of the terms of the Lombard League, see vol. i., p. 303.

than the troops of Verona, Cremona, and four other towns⁶, entered the territory of Milan; and, distributing arms among the inhabitants, helped them to rebuild the walls of their city. Nor did it falter in its work. Lodi, which no persuasion could win over, was starved until it yielded; the castle of Trezzo, where Frederic kept his treasure, was taken and destroyed; and before the first campaign was ended, besides Treviso, Placentia, and Lodi, Venice, Vicenza, Padua, Parma, Modena, and Bologna, had been induced to sign the engagement.

This league was well timed. The vast power which the Emperor had gathered together, was then melting away in the south of Italy, where he had threatened to overwhelm the Pope and his adherents. In the month of July,—after he had been three weeks besieging Ancona, into which the Greeks had put a garrison⁷,—he had marched on to Rome, and had driven out Alexander III.; but in the beginning of August, when he had been crowned with his wife Beatrice by the antipope Paschal, that deadly fever had broken out which was thought to be the wrath of God upon his army, and all his pride was suddenly struck down⁸. Among the dead were Frederic of Rothenburg⁹, the younger *Welf*

⁶ These were Bergamo, Brescia, Mantua, and Treviso.

⁷ His attacks had been baffled; but the citizens readily gave him money to raise the siege.

⁸ The reader is also referred to vol. i., pp. 349, 350.

⁹ Frederic of Rothenburg had no children by his wife *Richensa*,—a daughter of Henry the Lion and his divorced wife *Clementia* of *Zachringen*,—who was afterwards married to Canute VI. of Denmark. The Emperor gave his old duchies of Swabia and Alsatia, June 1169, to his own second son *FREDERIC*; who died unmarried at the siege of Acre (see vol. i., p. 66), Jan. 1191. That of Franconia he granted to his third son *CONRAD*; who eventually got his brother's duchies of Swabia and Alsatia, and also died unmarried in the year 1196. *Frederic Barbarossa's* fifth son,—his fourth son was *OTHO*, count palatine of Burgundy,—*PHILIP*, who had been created marquis of Tuscany the

(whose father, Welf of Altorf, now became childless), the chancellor Reginald; also several bishops and counts, and upwards of two thousand lords and gentlemen. All Germany was moved at the sight of the funeral trains, when the bones of so many men of high rank were brought back to be buried in the tombs of their fathers¹. Leaving the sick to the care of the Romans, from whom he did not forget to take hostages, Frederic retreated with the few who could still bear arms; and with much trouble he reached Pavia, about the middle of September, and there he held a diet, which was only attended by the deputies of Pavia, Novara, Vercelli, and Como, and by the marquis of Montferrat and some half a dozen feudal lords. Although thus forsaken, Frederic then threw down his gauntlet as a token of the vengeance which he would deal upon his foes: he likewise put under the ban of the

year before the death of Conrad, had Swabia, Alsatia, and Franconia then granted him; but most of what was called the Frank-Rhenane duchy fell into the hands of the count palatine of the Rhine. When Philip of Swabia was murdered, June 1208, his nephew, afterwards the Emperor FREDERIC II., became his heir, and had some trouble to get his rights. In the year 1219, Frederic granted Swabia and Alsatia to his eldest son HENRY; and when the latter was deposed by him, Aug. 1235, he bestowed them upon his second son, afterwards CONRAD IV. Conrad died in May 1254, and his son Conradin never could get either the Empire or the family fiefs, which remained in abeyance.

The duchy of Alsatia contained the Nordgau, or Lower Alsatia, of which the lands immediately dependent upon the Empire were now administered by Landvogts (or High Balliffs); and it is not to be confounded with the old Sundgau, or Upper Alsatia, of which the counts of Habsburg had become the hereditary landgraves. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the whole of Alsatia was gradually conquered by France.

¹ The bodies of the nobles who had died, were boiled in cauldrons to clear the bones from the flesh. The remains were then taken home, as it was not customary for men of such rank to be buried in a strange land.

Empire the towns which had leagued against him, all but Cremona and Lodi. By the Pope, he himself had been solemnly excommunicated, and sentenced to be deposed²; and in a congress of the League, such vigorous measures were adopted, that he was kept every where in check, and could only carry on a petty war of pillage. At last, he stole out of Italy, March 1168; the men of Susa rising against him as he was passing through their town, and rescuing all the hostages whom he had with him. When he was gone, most of his adherents went over to the League, which was also swelled by the accession of Ravenna and other cities in Romagna: Pavia alone and William of Montferrat stood fast in their allegiance. To cripple these as much as possible, the Lombards built a new city on their confines, in a strong position where two rivers met, and named it Alessandria, in honour of the Pope. As it was in a rich plain, it was soon a thriving place, although at first—owing to its hastily-constructed dwellings and thatched roofs—it was spoken of in mockery as a town of straw³.

For nearly seven years, Frederic abode in Germany, where he was still feared and obeyed. Indeed, the very mishap by which he had been brought so low in Italy, had strengthened him at home; the deaths in his army having caused many lands and fiefs to revert to the crown. He had a great deal to do on his return. The archbishops of *Cologne*, *Bremen*, and *Magdeburg*, the bishops of *Hildesheim* and *Lubeck*, and Albert the Bear and the landgrave *Lewis II. of Thuringia*, had leagued themselves together to stop the encroachments of Henry the Lion; and that prince—who had lately set up a huge bronze lion before his castle at Brunswick, as a token that he meant to lord it

² This sentence was given at Benevento, whither Alexander had taken refuge when he fled from Rome.

³ *Alessandria della Paglia* (the straw-built Alexandria) was the nick-name given to this eyesore of the Imperialists.

over all around him—had broken loose upon them, wasting Thuringia and the see of Magdeburg with fire and sword, and driving out the bishop of Lubeck. Frederic at once laid the storm, obliging every one to give back whatever he had taken. The next year, he created his younger sons *Frederic* and *Conrad* dukes of *Swabia* and *Franconia*, providing for them out of the possessions of his deceased cousin; he also got his eldest son *Henry* crowned king of the Romans, June 1169; and the bereaved Welf of Altorf now secured to him the whole of his rich domains in Italy. That which Welf bestowed upon the Emperor, he had very recently settled upon his own nephew Henry the Lion⁴, who was likewise disappointed in the hope formerly held out to him of succeeding to the Empire: a depth of ill feeling was thus stirred up, which, though for a while unseen, embittered the old quarrel of Guelf and Ghibelin worse than ever. Frederic afterwards again displayed his power, in the year 1174, by deposing Uladislau of Bohemia, who had offended him⁵; and, by an invasion of Poland, forcing it to pay tribute and to submit to his will.

Italy was not forgotten. *Christian*, the warlike archbishop of *Mentz* by whom the Romans had been defeated near *Tusculum*⁶, had been sent into that country; and, by taking the part of Genoa and its Tuscan allies against Pisa and Florence, he had raised and trained an army. By him and the Venetians, whose commercial jealousy he had

⁴ He had made out a donation of all his goods, on condition that a certain sum should be paid him. Henry had been backward in the payment, hoping that his aged uncle would die soon; and thus offended him in a way that never was forgiven.

⁵ Uladislau had made his son Frederic his colleague without asking the Emperor's leave; nor would he set his nephew Sobieslau free when bidden to do so. Moreover, he had acknowledged Alexander as lawful pope.

⁶ See the *History of the Popes*, vol. i., p. 349.

cunningly worked upon, Ancona was beset by land and by sea, April 1174. For several months, all his attacks were repulsed by the inhabitants, whose courage even the pains of hunger could not shake: at length, a body of troops which had been gathered together with the help of their money by some friendly nobles, marched down at night from the neighbouring mountain, in extended files and with a number of lights, and the affrighted besiegers broke up and fled. In the following year (A.D. 1175), the Genoese and the Pisans agreed to settle their differences by the Emperor's award⁷.

⁷ The Genoese, whom Frederic had favoured out of hostility to Venice, had been drawn into a war with the Pisans, in the year 1162, these last having attacked and destroyed their factory at Constantinople. As the Genoese had forts in Sardinia, an island which was most of it held in fief of Pisa by the four judges of Gallura, Logodoro (or Torre), Arborea (or Oristagno), and Cagliari, the representatives of noble families by whom it had been conquered from the Saracens under the auspices of that republic; they tried to wound the pride of Pisa by encouraging the Sardinian chieftains to shake off an allegiance to their mother country which was only nominal. *Barison*, the judge of *Arborea*, undertook to bring the whole island under the influence of Genoa, provided that his own sway were likewise extended; and the support of a fleet being promised him, he went to Frederic Barbarossa, and offered to do homage and to pay tribute if he would give him the investiture of the kingdom of Sardinia. The Emperor bestowed the crown upon him, Aug. 1164, in spite of the remonstrances of Pisa; but would not let him leave his court until 4000 marks, which were to have been paid him, were forthcoming: the Genoese advanced the money to Barison, and also fitted out a fleet, keeping him, however, in their own hands as their only security for the repayment of what they had spent, and even putting him in prison at last. In the mean while, his territory was ruthlessly pillaged by the judges of *Gallura* and *Logodoro*; who had renewed their fealty to Pisa, and gotten her assistance. When peace was made, in the year 1175, the Emperor decided that Genoa should have *Arborea* and *Cagliari*, and that the rest of Sardinia should be subject to Pisa; but this arrangement does not seem to have been ever carried out.

By that time, Frederic had prevailed upon the Germans to follow him again into the land in which so many of their race had died, and where it now seemed as if Heaven were fighting for the Pope against them. Having entered Italy through Savoy, and requited the men of Susa by setting their town on fire, he had encamped before Alessandria, Oct. 1174, and had begun to besiege it: there he tried every means of attack then known; and he was so bent upon his purpose, that, in spite of snows and floods, and the loss of men from toil, sickness, want of food, and desertion, he stayed on until Easter, April 1175, when the approach of the troops of the League, and the repulse of his soldiers, who had suddenly rushed out of a mine at night into the great square of the city^a, made him raise the siege and march away towards Pavia. The Lombard chiefs then offered to submit all disputed points to fair arbitration; and as Frederic listened to the scheme,—perhaps he only meant to gain time,—a “compromise” was signed, both parties agreeing to disarm and negotiate. But the conferences, which were attended, at the Emperor’s invitation, by the Pope’s legates, came to nothing: so the war was renewed. Frederic, at the hour of his utmost need, was dismayed to find himself forsaken by the men on whom he had most relied: *Sobieslaus*, the new duke of Poland, had returned home with all his forces; and Henry the Lion, who had also withdrawn from the expedition, refused to give any help whatever to his sovereign, although the latter is said even to have cast himself at his feet^b.

^a On the night of Good Friday, although there seems to have been a truce in honour of our Lord’s crucifixion. This is the only blot upon the fair fame of Frederic.

^b The motives for Henry’s conduct may have been ambition, or superstition, or spite for the loss of Welf’s inheritance: perhaps all three may have influenced him. The accounts of his behaviour are various. We are told that he fell away, after the raising of the siege

When spring had again come round, a fresh army indeed, but not of the usual strength, left Germany and reached the lake of Como, whither Frederic hastened to meet it : he led it forth against the castle of Legnano, May 1176, the men of Como being with him, and the forces of Pavia and the marquis of Montferrat about to join him. As he drew nigh to Legnano, he beheld the citizens of Milan, together with their confederates from Placentia and other places, already in arms to withstand him ; and in the battle which followed, although they were driven back at the first shock, they fought with such fury that his standard was beaten down, he himself thrown off his horse, and the whole array of his warriors broken and cut through. The rout was complete, and the pursuit was unsparing ; his camp became the spoil of the conquerors, and for some days he was nowhere to be seen : it was thought that he was dead ; and when at last he showed himself alive at Pavia, his wife had put on widow's weeds.

As he had no hope of raising another army, and there was an outcry among the princes against his upholding the schism in the Church ; Frederic sent an embassy to the Pope, seeking in good earnest to be reconciled. Alexander declared himself bound to stand by his allies, but consented to confirm the bishops of the Emperor's party in their sees, on their abjuring the antipope : it was also arranged that

of Alessandria ; and that Frederic went and overtook him at Chiavenna, near the lake of Como, and threw himself at his feet ; and that the Empress said to her husband, " Rise, my lord ; remember this, and may God remember it also ! " Another version is that Henry had refused to join the Emperor under the plea of age, although not yet fifty ; and that the latter had got him to come to Chiavenna, hoping by an interview to shake his purpose. Henry is also accused of intrigues with the malcontents of Lombardy, and of having declared that he would not serve an excommunicated prince ; and there is a story that he would not leave Germany unless the town of Goslar were bestowed upon him as his reward.

there should be an armistice, and that a congress should meet at Bologna. Eventually, Venice was chosen instead, the doge and the citizens pledging themselves by an oath not to let the Emperor come in before the terms of agreement were signed. Nor was that last precaution a groundless one. There was still a sort of magic in the very name of the Cæsar, and it seemed almost treasonable to withstand him to his face; his prerogative moreover had zealous and active friends—chiefly among the gentry—in every Italian city; Cremona had already been won back to her old allegiance, her own privileges having been ratified; and it was heard with dismay that even Tortona and Ravenna had since renounced the League. When the congress was opened, about a twelvemonth after the battle of Legnano had been fought, Frederic could not bring himself to yield for ever the rights for which he had striven so long and at such a cost; so it was settled, after much discussion, that besides the perpetual peace with the Church and a truce of fifteen years with the king of Sicily, there should be a truce with the Lombard League for six years¹. On Sunday, the eve of St. James, July 1177, he and his prelates and lords received absolution at St. Nicholas of Lido; after which, he embarked in the state galley of the republic, and by the doge Sebastian Ziani, and the patriarch of *Grado*, and the clergy and the people of Venice, was escorted to the grand square of St. Mark, where Pope Alexander and his bishops and cardinals, with the patriarch of *Aquileia* and the church dignitaries of Lombardy, were all seated in full pontifical robes. Throwing off his mantle, he fell down and kissed the feet of the Pope; who raised him up, and gave him the

¹ It left things very much as they stood; the Emperor, in fact, agreeing to tolerate what he could not prevent.

kiss of peace², and likewise administered to him the communion with his own hands, the next day, at St. Mark's church³. Lastly, on the 1st of August,—when Frederic, who was sitting at the right of the Pope, had renewed his submission in a set speech,—the pacification was sworn to by *Henry*, count of *Dessau*, on the soul of the Emperor, and by twelve princes of the Empire, spiritual and temporal; by the archbishop of *Salerno*, who pledged himself for the king of Sicily; and by the rectors of the Lombard towns. The German and Italian bishops who had taken part in the schism, then came forward and abjured it.

The next year, having returned to Germany, Frederic readily listened to the complaints of the Bohemians against Sobieslaus, whose behaviour he had not forgiven; and bestowed his dukedom on *Frederic*, the son of the late king, who quickly drove him out. He also paid a visit to his Burgundian kingdom, and had himself crowned at Arles, July 1178, afterwards holding a brilliant court at Besançon. By this display, he hoped to turn men's thoughts from dwelling on the reverses which had befallen him in Italy; but the grants and privileges which, on this occasion, he heaped upon vassals who were already too little under control, greatly hastened the decay of the imperial authority in the French provinces⁴.

² The story of the Pope's putting his feet upon his neck is altogether fabulous.

³ It was at that solemn mass, that Frederic went with a wand, like a verger, before the Pope as he was going to the altar; afterwards holding his stirrup when the service was over, and leading his horse by the bridle a few paces.

⁴ It was in this year (1178), that the archbishop of Mentz assumed the title of arch-chancellor of Germany. The archbishopric of Cologne had had the arch-chancellorship of Italy ever since the year 1166.

All this while, Henry the Lion was not forgotten by the Emperor. The time was at hand in which he was to atone for his misdeeds. His overgrown power—his dominions were greater than the immediate possessions of his own sovereign—was felt to be dangerous to the Empire, and every day it was becoming more formidable. By building cities⁵ and encouraging trade; by bringing in Dutch and Flemish settlers to clear away forests, drain marshes, and set forward a better system of tillage; and by his conquests over the piratical Obotrites of Mecklenburg and the neighbouring parts of Holstein, whom he attacked by land as the ally of Waldemar the Great of Denmark⁶, he had wonderfully added to his resources.

⁵ He founded Munich, in the year 1157, and also rebuilt Hamburg, which the Wends had destroyed. *Adolphus II.*, count of *Holstein* (whom he had formerly restored when driven out by Albert the Bear), having ceded to him Lubeck,—a town built by the count himself on the ruins of *Buen*, which had greatly thriven, but was then burnt down by a fire,—he rebuilt it; granted it freedom of trade, instead of trying to destroy its traffic (as he had hitherto done); and also gave it for its rule the famous statutes, borrowed from *Soest* in *Westphalia*, which were afterwards adopted by so many of the Baltic towns.

⁶ *NICLOT* (Nicholas), their chieftain,—who, from his name, is thought to have been baptized,—fell fighting against Henry, in the year 1159. (See vol. i., p. 188, note 3.) His sons submitted to the Saxon conqueror; who built castles and founded bishoprics in their country, so as to strengthen a yoke which, however, they quickly strove to shake off. *Wratislaw*, who had been taken in arms, having been afterwards hanged at *Brunswic*; his brother *PRIBISLAUS* (*Przibislav*) stirred up all the neighbouring Wendish tribes, in the year 1164, and the war broke out again with great fury. Henry renewed his league with *Waldemar* of *Denmark*, and even *Albert the Bear* was led by the feeling of a common interest to join in it; and while the Danish fleet ravaged the Wendish coasts and destroyed the shipping in the mouths of the rivers, the other two allies went about far and wide, burning the inland towns and laying the fields waste. A victory won by Henry, near *Demmin*,—some say in the same year,

But, like his father before him, he had awakened the fear and the hatred of the leading men in Germany, most of

others in the year 1167,—decided the struggle. Pribislaus, thoroughly beaten, consented to become a Christian and a vassal ; and when his lord afterwards went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land (A.D. 1172), he readily followed him. When Pribislaus died (A.D. 1178), there was a sharp contest between his son HENRY BURWIN I., from whom the Mecklenburg dynasties are descended, and NICLOT, Wratislaus' son ; but at length Canute VI., who had succeeded his father Waldemar in Denmark, got the two princes into his power, and divided the territory between them, obliging them to transfer their homage to the Danish crown. Niclot had Rostock allotted him ; but he had no children by his wife, the daughter of Albert the Bear. When Canute's son, Waldemar II., was taken prisoner by the count of Schwerin, May 1223, the Danes lost their supremacy in Mecklenburg, which again became German.—Henry Burwin's great grandson HENRY III. was remarkable for his expedition to the Holy Land, in the year 1272, during which he fell into the hands of the Moslems and was sent a captive to Cairo, where, before he was released, he lived for more than twenty-six years upon the earnings of his servant *Martin Bleyer*, who was a weaver : in the mean while, two impostors, one after the other, are said to have been put to death for having passed themselves off on his wife, *Anne of Pomerania*, as her absent husband.

In the year 1349, Henry's grandsons, ALBERT I. and JOHN II. (the latter of whom had Stargard, and was the ancestor of a line which became extinct in 1471), were created dukes of the Empire by Lewis of Bavaria. Duke Albert took *Otto*, the last count of *Schwerin*, prisoner, and obliged him to give his only daughter and heiress *Richarda* to his son, afterwards ALBERT II.: that young prince, whose mother was a Swedish princess, also became king of Sweden ; but was at last dethroned, towards the close of the fourteenth century, by Margaret of Denmark. The fallen king had to pay a heavy ransom before he was allowed to return to his duchy ; and as the ladies of Mecklenburg sold their jewels to help him, he granted them the *Erbjüngferrecht*, by which a fief, on the failure of heirs male, might be retained by a female during her lifetime before it passed to the males of a collateral branch.

The history of Mecklenburg is intricate. For even when the territory which had been diamembered by partition was again united,

whom were only too eager to join in crushing him. Philip, archbishop of Cologne, now ventured to invade his territories; and complaints also poured in against him, which he was called upon to answer at the diet held at Worms, Christmas 1178. Thither he came not; nor would he appear at Magdeburg, nor at Goslar, nor at Wurtzburg, at which last diet he was condemned by the princes as contumacious, put under the ban of the Empire, and adjudged to lose all his fiefs, Jan. 1180. Those who had thus helped to run down the game, were allowed to share in the spoil. At Gelmhausen, April 1180, Frederic dismembered Saxony: the eastern portion, with the circle of Wittenberg, he granted as a duchy to *Bernard*, count of *Anhalt*, the youngest son of Albert the Bear⁷; most of Angria and Westphalia was formed into a second dukedom, which was annexed to the archbishopric of Cologne⁸; and the sees of Magdeburg, Bremen, Osnaburg, Verden, Halberstadt, Hildesheim, Paderborn, Munster, and Minden, the counts of Schauenburg, Oldenburg, Schwerin, and

it was not unusual for two or three brothers or cousins to rule together in common. In the earlier part of the sixteenth century, there was a new division into the duchies of Schwerin and Gustrow; and though, in the year 1695, the latter of these dynasties failed, Mecklenburg, which is a Lutheran country, is still governed by more than one duke. By a convention at the mediation of imperial commissioners, March 1701, it was divided between the representatives of the house of Schwerin, the dukes of Mecklenburg Schwerin and Mecklenburg Strelitz; primogeniture being also established as the rule of succession in both duchies. The first duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz, ADOLPHUS FREDERIC I.,—the youngest and posthumous son of an ADOLPHUS FREDERIC, duke of Schwerin, who died in Feb. 1658,—had married one of the daughters of the last of the dukes of Gustrow. The present dukes, however, are from another wife.

⁷ For an account of the Ascanian dukes of Saxony, see pp. 52, 53, note 2.

⁸ Some districts were also given to the archbishops of Mentz.

other chief vassals, the city of Lubeck, and all the late Wendish conquests, became immediate of the Empire. And in like manner, at the diet of Ratisbon, June 1180, Styria, Carinthia, and the Tyrol were detached from Bavaria; Ratisbon and Augsburg were made free cities; and what remained of the duchy—the archbishops of Salzburg and the bishops of Passau and Freising also emancipated themselves from it—was bestowed upon Otho of Wittelsbach, the founder of that family of which the elder branches were afterwards counts palatine of the Rhine, and which at this day bears kingly rule in Bavaria⁹.

⁹ OTHO of WITTELSBACH, duke of Bavaria, was the eldest son of Otho, count palatine of *Scheyren* and *Wittelsbach*, the son of another count Otho, who died in the year 1101; and courtly genealogists have tried to prove his direct descent from an *Arnulf*, count of *Scheyren*, second son of Arnulf the Bad, duke of Bavaria. His son LEWIS I., who succeeded him as duke, July 1183, and perished by the hand of an obscure assassin, Nov. 1231, was the father of OTHO II., *the Illustrious*; who was the husband of Agnes, the daughter of Henry of Saxony, and, in the year 1227, had, become count palatine of the Rhine. (See p. 67, note 9.) When Otho II. died, Nov. 1253, his eldest son LEWIS II., *the Severe*,—so called, because, in a fit of groundless jealousy, he had his first wife, *Mary of Brabant*, executed,—kept for his share the Palatinate and Upper Bavaria: the second of his sons, HENRY, had Lower Bavaria, which formed a separate duchy until the year 1340, when the male line of its dukes became extinct.

On the death of Lewis the Severe, Jan. 1294, there was a more lasting division of the house of Wittelsbach. From RODOLPH *the Stammerer*, the elder of his sons by his third wife (*Matilda*, daughter of Rodolf of Habsburg), who was count palatine of the Rhine, sprang all the Palatine or Rudolphine branches: to these belong the Electors Palatine, the dynasty of Swedish kings which reigned during part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the modern kings of Bavaria. LEWIS, duke of Bavaria, the younger son, afterwards emperor, was the ancestor of the line of Bavarian dukes and electors which ended in MAXIMILIAN-JOSEPH, who died at Munich, Dec. 1777, leaving his dominions to his nearest agnate, the Elector Palatine.

Berthold, the eldest son of the count of *Andechs*, was created duke of Merania in the Tyrol¹.

Assailed on every side by foes who rushed forward to seize upon the prey which had fallen to their share, Henry the Lion displayed the wonted hardihood of his race. Bavaria, indeed, and its dependencies were easily wrested from him; but in Saxony, where his chief strength lay, where he had rich lands, profitable mines, tried soldiers, and faithful vassals, he discomfited, near Osnaburg, an army which had been raised against him, and then went forth and ravaged Thuringia. There he won another battle, in which he took count *Lewis III.* prisoner, and with him a number of princes and nobles, Bernard of Ascania himself having a very narrow escape. But he had the folly to quarrel with *Adolphus III.*, count of *Holstein*, who at first had fought on his side; and Waldemar of Denmark also

¹ *BERTHOLD*, duke of Merania (Meran),—a title derived from the town of Meran,—inherited from his father *Berthold*, not only the county of *Andechs*, but also the marquisate of *Istria* and the duchy of *Dalmatia*, which had been granted him by *Frederic*. He had four sons: the two eldest were *Egbert*, bishop of *Bamberg*, and *Berthold*, patriarch of *Aquileia*; the third was *Otho the Great*, duke of Merania and *Dalmatia*, count of *Andechs*, and (in right of his wife *Beatrice*, see p. 48, note 2) of *Burgundy*; and the fourth was *Henry*, marquis of *Istria*, who was put under the ban of the Empire for having instigated the murderer of *Philip of Swabia*, in revenge for the forfeiture of his marquisate. (*Agnes of Merania*, so notorious for her marriage with *Philip Augustus*, was one of duke *Berthold's* daughters.) *Otho the Great's* son, *Otho II.*, died unmarried in the year 1248, and his dominions were divided.—Some lands and castles were seized by his brother *Henry*, bishop of *Bamberg*, who united them to his see; his sister *Beatrice* and her husband *Otho*, count of *Orlamunde*, had the *Voigtland*, *Culmbach*, and other places; *Alice* and her husband *Hugh of Châlons* had *Franche-Comté*; *Elizabeth* and her husband *Frederic of Nuremberg* had *Baireuth*; and Meran itself was taken possession of by *Mainard*, count of *Goritz*, whose mother was of the house of Merania.

turned against him, and helped the Emperor to reduce Lubeck. During the siege, in the year 1181, the Pomeranian chieftains *Bogeslaus I.* and *Casimir* came into the camp, and were created dukes, having agreed to become vassals of the Empire². The overwhelming force which Frederic brought into Saxony decided the struggle. Brunswick and Luneburg were beleaguered; the strong town of Ratzburg voluntarily opened its gates; desertion spread among the Saxon troops; and at last, in the year 1182, Henry, who had fled to Stade, released his prisoners and threw himself upon the mercy of the Emperor. The sight of his fallen rival is said to have drawn tears from Frederic's eyes; yet he insisted on his leaving Germany for three years, during which he was to live at the court of his

² Pomerania—a name derived from the Slavic *Po Mor* (*ad mare*)—had become the inheritance of princes descended from one of the younger children of *MISTIVOI*, king of the Wends. On the death of *Mistivoi's* grandson *SUANTIBOR*, in the year 1107, it had divided into Pomerania and Pomerelia (part of which latter country, after the extinction of its dukes of the Dantzic branch, at the end of the thirteenth century, was sold to the Teutonic knights, in the year 1310, by *Waldemar*, margrave of Brandenburg, who had been prevented by the Poles from seizing it as an escheated fief; the rest fell into the possession of the Pomeranian dukes). *BOGISLAUS I.* and *CASIMIR*, the first dukes of Pomerania, belonged to the elder line of *Suantibor*, whose grandsons they were: they were also brought up as Christians, their father *Wratislaus* having been baptized. As *Casimir* left no children, *Bogislaus's* descendants continued the succession of dukes. In the year 1295, there was a partition of their territory into the duchies of *Wolgast* and *Stettin*; but during the sixteenth century, it was again united, it being settled that the electors of Brandenburg, who had claims on *Stettin*, should bear the title of dukes of Pomerania, and should be secured the reversion of both domains if the house of *Wolgast* became extinct. Yet when *BOLESLAUS*, the last duke, died, March 1637 (in the time of the Thirty Years' War), the Swedes were in occupation of Pomerania; and it was not until the decline of Sweden, in the beginning of the next century, that the house of Brandenburg could recover the whole of its lost rights.

father-in-law, *Henry II.* of England³. The duke's allodial possessions in Saxony would then be restored to him.

In the mean while, the Emperor's party had somewhat gained ground in Italy, and the Lombard League even seemed to be in danger of falling to pieces. Tortona now renewed its alliance with him, Feb. 1183, receiving privileges equal to those enjoyed by Pavia; and the next month witnessed the more startling defection of *Alessandria* itself, which also (though but for a short time) submitted to be called by the name of *Cæsarea*. Luckily for the independence of the Italian cities, *Frederic* was anxious to place the iron crown upon the brows of his son *Henry*; so that he was willing, when the truce was ended, to make a settled peace on the fairest possible terms, at the diet of *Constance*, June 1183⁴. In this policy he was confirmed by the design which he formed of marrying *Henry* to the aunt of the childless king of *Sicily*: for if the rich inheritance of that island and of Southern Italy, which he sought thus to get for his family, should chance to be disputed, he might stand much in need of the Lombards, who could do him good service. At a grand diet held at *Mentz*, May 1184, he had the young prince and his brother the duke of *Swabia* knighted; and then he went once more into Italy, to carry out his new plans, and wherever he came he was welcomed with open arms by the people,

³ It was during his banishment, that *Henry's* wife *Matilda* bore him his son *William*, from whom sprang the kings of the house of *Brunswic* who reigned where their ancestor had been an exile.

⁴ See also vol. i., p. 303, note 4. The towns then recognized of the League were *Vercelli*, *Novara*, *Milan*, *Lodi*, *Bergamo*, *Brescia*, *Mantua*, *Verona*, *Vicenza*, *Padua*, *Treviso*, *Bologna*, *Faenza*, *Modena*, *Reggio*, *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Venice* (which, being independent of the Empire, was not named in the treaty). *Ferrara* was to declare her adhesion to the treaty within two months. The Emperor acknowledged as his allies the cities of *Pavia*, *Cremona*, *Como*, *Tortona*, *Asi*, *Cæsarea* (*Alessandria*), *Genoa*, and *Alba*.

whose hearts he had quite won by his frank generosity. His old enemies the Milanese, he loaded with favours: he granted them fresh immunities; he allowed them to rebuild Crema⁵; and in the year 1186, when he had brought about the marriage with the heiress of Sicily, he gladly consented to have the wedding celebrated in their city. There was a great display of pomp and magnificence on that occasion, and the lords both of Germany and Italy were present: it seemed as if the house of Swabia were about to wield the sovereignty of the world, and that popes, princes, and free cities would no longer be able to keep it down. But it was not the will of God that this should be.

Although Frederic had still several quarrels with the popes about the succession of the countess Matilda and the rights of his crown, all was forgotten when the tidings reached him that Jerusalem, the Holy City, had again fallen into the hands of the unbelievers. At the diet of Mentz, March 1188, he at once took the cross; and in the following year, notwithstanding his age, he set out, the very foremost of the Christian kings and warriors, upon an expedition from which he could hardly hope to return. With him marched a mighty host⁶, which, though delayed by the attacks of the Bulgarians and the treachery of the Greeks, he brought over into Asia, where he also triumphed over the ill faith of the Turkish sultan of Iconium; who suddenly turned against him, having first withheld all sup-

⁵ This gave great offence to the men of Cremona; but Frederic led the Milanese militia against them, and forced them to ask for pardon (A.D. 1186).

⁶ Besides his son Frederic, duke of Swabia, who also died during the Crusade, were Berthold, duke of Merania, *Herman IV.*, margrave of *Baden*, and a great number of bishops and nobles. No man was allowed to join the expedition who had not at least three marks of silver to defray his expenses.

plies of food when his men were toiling through the wilds of Lycaonia. But when these dangers were escaped, and he had come to the Christian and friendly country of Armenia; Frederic Barbarossa, who was bordering on his seventieth year, lost his life in the small river Salef⁷, the water of which had so chilled him that he sank down in a fit and was drowned, June 1190.

His death was universally mourned. Even his foes honoured him for his truth and uprightness: they could fully rely upon his word; and though he was terrible in his wrath while they withstood him, in the hour of victory he had never loved to inflict torture, or to shed blood upon the scaffold. His was indeed a noble character, and it stood forth in striking contrast to that of his son, who was fierce, brutal, faithless, and had nothing of him but his courage.

A.D. 1190. *Henry VI.* Expedition to Italy.

1191. Henry crowned at Rome. The siege of Naples raised.

1192. Richard of England captive (ransomed, A.D. 1194).

1194. Henry the Lion submits. Henry VI. gets possession of the kingdom of Sicily.

1195. Death of Henry the Lion.

1196. Attempt to make the Empire hereditary. Henry's third expedition to Italy.

1197. Death of Henry VI.

HENRY VI., who had been left in charge of Germany, of which he was already the elected king⁸, heard of his father's death towards the end of the year. He was then leading an army into Italy, to recover his wife's inheritance, which, when William of Sicily was dead, had been seized upon by the usurper Tancred.

⁷ Also called the Cydnus and the Calycadnus. (See vol. i., p. 66.) Some say that Frederic was bathing in the river; others, that he was fording it in his eager haste.

⁸ He had been elected at Bamberg, June 1169, and crowned on Whit-Sunday, in the same month, at Aix-la-Chapelle.

In the following spring, having reached Rome, he was crowned by Pope Celestin III. on Easter Sunday, April 1191; but not before he had basely consented to give up Tusculum to the vengeance of the Romans⁹. The rest of his Italian expedition was an utter failure: he had to raise the siege of Naples; he lost his soldiers by sickness, himself being brought nigh to death's door; and the disgrace of his retreat was heightened by his leaving his wife a prisoner in the hands of his enemies. Nor did he, after his return to Germany, gain much honour when he bought the champion of Christendom, king Richard of England, from *Leopold V.*, the mean-spirited duke of *Austria*, and kept him chained in the castle of Trifels. Even when Richard had been fully acquitted, at the diet of Haguenau (April 1193), of every charge which had been alleged against him, and a ransom of 100,000 marks was to be paid for his release; the shabby Emperor would still have broken his word for the sake of French gold, had not the German princes at last obliged him to abide by his bargain, and let his captive go free, Feb. 1194. In that same year, Henry the Lion, who had long given him trouble, made his submission¹. The deprived duke, who died somewhat more than a twelvemonth afterwards (Aug. 1195), was befriended by the Emperor's uncle, Conrad of Swabia, the Count Palatine, whose daughter became the wife of his eldest son.

The death of Tancred of Sicily, Feb. 1194, having

⁹ See vol. i., p. 351. For Henry's proceedings in Naples and Sicily, see also vol. i., pp. 397, 398.

¹ Frederic Barbarossa, when he had taken the cross, in the year 1188, obliged Henry the Lion, who had attacked Bernard of Ascania, either to take part of his claims, and give up the rest; or to go with him to the Holy Land, with the hope of being eventually restored; or to withdraw again into exile for three years. Henry chose to retire from Germany; but he returned when the Emperor died, renewed the war, and was declared a public enemy.

opened the way to the conquest of that kingdom, Henry VI. was enabled by the money from Richard's ransom to attempt it. This time he was successful. He was crowned at Palermo, Oct. 1194, and having gotten the mastery, could avenge himself to his heart's content : all the cruelty, faithlessness, and rapacity of the man came out, and no tyrant was ever more hated. Before his short reign was ended, even his wife rose up in horror against him.

In the year 1196, Conrad, duke of Franconia, and also of Swabia (after the decease of duke Frederic in Palestine), being dead, Henry gave Swabia to *Philip*, his next brother, to whom, within the last twelvemonth, he had also granted Tuscany and the inheritance of the countess Matilda². And on his return home, laden with the spoils of a vanquished people, he undertook, and well-nigh carried out the bold measure of declaring the Empire hereditary³ : Sicily, Apulia, Calabria, and Capua were to be united with it ; and, as a still further inducement, fiefs were to be heritable by females, and the crown was to forego all the profitable rights which it claimed on the decease of church dignitaries⁴. Fifty-two ecclesiastical and lay princes, and even the Pope himself, are said to have gone into the scheme ; but *Conrad of Wittelsbach*, archbishop of *Mentz*⁵,

² In the year 1195, when he likewise bestowed the duchy of Ravenna and the marquisate of Ancona on Marquard of Anweiler, one of his German officers.

³ Henry had great advantages. The extinction of the duchy of Franconia ; the importance of the benefices held by his kinsmen and adherents ; and the number of fiefs, especially in Saxony, which had become immediate, had greatly strengthened the prerogative of the crown.

⁴ The moveable estate left by them was seized, and the crown got the rents of their fiefs for the year.

⁵ Conrad's fortunes were remarkable. Frederic Barbarossa and the antipapal party caused him to be deposed, while still unconsecrated, in the year 1165, because he would not give up Pope Alexander ; and

and many of the Saxons so strongly withstood it, that it was given up by the Emperor, whose infant son Frederic was then elected king of the Romans in the usual way⁶.

Henry's ambition had been also awakened by the crusade which had been preached against Saphadin; and he would have led the expedition in person, had not fresh troubles caused him to hasten back to his Sicilian kingdom. The next year, he died at Messina, Sept. 1197, when he had hardly reached the age of thirty-three.

A. D. 1198. *Philip of Swabia and Otho IV.* Bohemia becomes a kingdom.

1201. The Pope excommunicates Philip and his party.

1205. Philip crowned anew at Aix-la-Chapelle.

1206. Battle of Wasenberg; Otho goes to England.

1207. Philip makes peace with the Pope. Truce with Otho.

1208. *Philip of Swabia murdered.* Otho recognized at Frankfurt.

1209. Otho IV. crowned at Rome.

1210. Otho invades Apulia, and is excommunicated.

1211. Troubles in Germany. Otho leaves Apulia.

1212. Frederic II. enters Germany. Diet of Mentz.

1214. *Defeat of Otho IV. at Bouvines.*

1215. Frederic II. crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle.

1218. Otho IV. dies.

A king of the Romans who was a child not four years old, was not likely to hold his own in stormy times. In Italy, men were more eager than ever to shake off the yoke of strangers; in Germany, the feud of Guelf and Ghibelin still smouldered, while the princes, who had been kept under of late, thirsted for independence; and just at this

when peace was made, and the imperial prelates were confirmed in their sees, that pope, who had already created him cardinal-bishop of Sabino, consoled him with the archbishopric of Salzburg. On the death, however, of Christian, his rival, Aug. 1183, Conrad recovered the see of Mentz.

⁶ Henry had to revoke his formal declaration that his son was heir to the Empire.

crisis, when so many passions and interests were stirred, the formidable power of the Roman church was about to be wielded by one of the ablest and most ambitious of the popes. The result of such a state of things was the establishment of the Tuscan League, the aggrandizement of Rome, and the double election of PHILIP OF SWABIA⁷ and OTHO IV. to the Imperial throne.

Philip, duke of Swabia, as soon as he had heard of the death of his brother, had left Italy in haste; and having been made defender of the Empire in behalf of his nephew, had held several meetings of German nobles, in which he tried to keep them faithful to the oaths which they had lately taken. When he found that this was hopeless⁸, he not unwillingly sought the throne for himself; which indeed was the best thing that could be done for the Swabian family, as the sovereignty would not be allowed to fall into the hands of its enemies. The archbishops of *Treves* and *Magdeburg*,—Conrad of Mentz had gone to the Holy Land,—the dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, and a number of princes, gave their consent to his election, March 1198; and though *Adolphus* of *Altena*, the archbishop of *Cologne*, would not crown him because he was an excommunicated person⁹, a full absolution was pronounced by the bishop of *Sutri*, one of the papal legates, and the ceremony was then performed at Mentz, during the octave of Easter, by the Archbishop of *Tarantaise*, the other legate. Philip, though not much more than twenty years of age, was known to have courage and talent; the imperial ornaments and his

⁷ He was crowned as PHILIP II. The Roman Emperor Philip was counted as his predecessor.

⁸ They said that they were not bound by what they had sworn, Frederic being not yet baptized when they plighted their allegiance to him.

⁹ Philip had been excommunicated by Celestin III. for holding dominions in Italy which were claimed by the Holy See.

brother's treasures were in his possession ; he had gained over *Premislaus Ottocar*, duke of *Bohemia*, by raising him to the royal dignity, and Philip Augustus of France was his staunch ally. But the Guelf party was still strong, and could rely upon the new pope ; who feared that Southern Italy and Sicily might yet become annexed to the Empire, and had disowned the acts of the legates. The discontented archbishops of Treves and Cologne, and Henry the Lion's son *Henry of Saxony, Count Palatine*, met at Andernach with their followers, and chose as king *Berthold V.*, duke of *Zaehringen* ; and when that individual, whose riches were his only merit, was bought off by Philip with 11,000 marks, they set up in his stead Otho of Brunswick and Aquitaine ¹, the nephew of Richard of England and the Count Palatine's youngest brother, who was straightway crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle by the Archbishop of Cologne, July 1198. As Philip had most princes on his side, the Pope wanted the Germans either to proceed to a fresh election ², or else to bow to his decision as supreme judge. Little heed, however, was paid to these pretensions ; so, after a considerable length of time had elapsed, Innocent openly declared himself for Otho, Jan. 1201, and sent forth a legate to carry the sentence into effect. *Guy*, cardinal-bishop of *Palestrina*, who was charged with this mission, came to Cologne, in June ; commanded all men to obey Otho ; and excommunicated Philip and his adherents. Great was the indignation which was thus excited !

¹ Otho's uncle, the English king, had given him, in the year 1196, the usufruct of the county of Poitiers and the duchy of Guienne. The possession of these fiefs, after Richard's death, was resumed by Eleanor of Aquitaine ; nor did Otho get much of the money which his uncle bequeathed him.—Richard had supported his nephew's election out of hatred to the family of his jailor Henry VI.

² One of the kings of the Romans had been elected when unbaptized ; the second, when excommunicated ; while the third, who was a proper person and had been duly crowned, had a minority of votes.

For ten weary years, Germany was torn with an ignoble strife which filled the whole land with bloodshed and robbery. The archbishop of Mentz, on his return from the Crusade, had raised his voice on the side of order; but death surprised him before he could do any thing, Oct. 1200, and fresh confusion was caused by a double election to his vacant see³. Otho managed to gain over *Herman I.*, the fickle landgrave of *Thuringia*; and even *Ottocar*, king of *Bohemia*⁴, had joined him, and had become a warm and active partisan: but though Philip was hard pressed by them at first, he obliged them in the end to make their peace with him. Yet more strange was the defection of *Adolphus* of *Cologne* from the cause of Otho, and that of his own brother *Henry*, the Count Palatine: the former went so far in his new-born zeal for Philip, as to crown him at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, Jan. 1205, the forms of election having been gone over anew. For this conduct, the archbishop was ordered by the Pope to be deposed, and some of his chapter accordingly elected a new metropolitan, named *Bruno*; who had the mishap to become a prisoner, the next year, at a battle near *Wasenberg*, in which Otho himself was put to flight by Philip. Otho crossed over to *England*, in search of help⁵, and *Cologne* was now lost to him.

In the year 1207, Philip, by dint of submissiveness, had

³ *Leopold*, bishop of *Worms*, was elected under the auspices of Philip of *Swabia*; but *Siegfrid* of *Eppstein* (the old) was chosen by a minority of the chapter, and (having the support of Otho) was confirmed by the Pope, and eventually prevailed over his rival.

⁴ *Ottocar* had divorced his wife *Adelaide* of *Misia*, in the year 1199, and thus offended Philip, who took the side of the margrave, that lady's brother. The Pope now patronized *Ottocar*; and in April 1204, he erected *Bohemia* into a kingdom.

⁵ He got money from his uncle *John*; who had hitherto refused to give him any part of the legacy which was due to him. King *Richard* had bequeathed Otho two-thirds of his treasure.

softened the Pope's enmity ; and having set Bruno free, and given up the cause of Adolphus (who was thus forsaken by both the kings whom he had crowned), he received absolution. The legates in Germany exerted themselves to bring about a peace, and there were interviews between the two rivals ; but all that could be accomplished was a twelve-months' truce, which was to end on the Feast of St. John the Baptist, June, 1208. On the eve of that day, Philip was murdered, in the bishop's castle at Bamberg, by count *Otho of Wittelsbach*. That nobleman—enraged because he had withheld from him the promised hand of his eldest daughter⁶, and had likewise hindered his marriage with a Polish princess—entered a room in which he was resting when he had been bled in both arms⁷; killed him with one stroke of his sword ; and fought his way out again.

Nothing could have happened more seasonably for Otho of Brunswic, than this murder of which he was wholly guiltless. He was at once acknowledged by the Saxons, at Halberstadt ; and afterwards by all the German princes, in the diet of Frankfort, the following Martinmas : he had renounced all claims to his father's duchies, and had put the assassin under the ban of the Empire, as honour and policy alike dictated. The wretched outlaw was slain near the Danube by *Henry of Pappenheim*, before another year had passed ; about which time, Otho betrothed himself to *Beatrice*⁸, the youngest of Philip's daughters, and then

⁶ Cunigunda, married instead to Ottocar of Bohemia's son Wenceslaus.

⁷ In the days in which the physician was "a leech," even men in full health were bled. It was still common in England, a hundred years ago, for people to get themselves bled and purged, every spring and fall.

⁸ He married her in the year 1212 ; but she died a few days afterwards, and he wedded *Mary of Brabant*, whom, for her sake, he had divorced on the usual pretence of consanguinity. When thus divorced, Mary had not yet reached the age of womanhood.

hastened to Italy, where he foresaw that the young king Frederic was likely to be a dangerous adversary. A few days after Michaelmas 1209, he was crowned at Rome by Pope Innocent ; but not until a capitulation, the first of its kind, had been wrung from him, in which he yielded up almost all his ecclesiastical rights⁹, and sanctioned the late encroachments in the March of Ancona and elsewhere, by which the territory of the papal see had been so greatly increased. There was, however, an affray between the citizens and the Germans, in which there was some bloodshed ; and a more decided quarrel broke out, when the Emperor connected himself with Eccelin and the leaders of the Ghibelin party, and professed himself bound by his coronation oath to recover whatever had been alienated. In the year 1210, he gave the investiture of Ancona to Azzo of Este¹, who did not long remain faithful to him, and that of Spoleto to count Diepold : he also seized upon several towns, and attacked Frederic as being friendly to Innocent, overrunning Apulia and taking Naples. But ere the summer was over, an excommunication was hurled against him, which, when published in Germany by *Siegfrid of Mentz*, became a fire-brand to kindle rebellion. At Bamberg (A.D. 1211), the archbishop stirred up the king of Bohemia, the landgrave of Thuringia, and other princes, to renew the allegiance which they had formerly sworn to Frederic ; so that Otho had to withdraw in the spring from Apulia into Lombardy, the better to guard against the danger which threatened him at home, and which every day became more alarming. In the course of another twelvemonth, Frederic was invited to go over into Germany ; which he succeeded in doing, notwithstanding that the ways were barred against him by the care of his enemy : he reached Constance, and by a profu-

⁹ Among these was the seizing the goods and lands of deceased prelates.

¹ Azzo had previously held it of the Pope.

sion of grants and promises, attracted a crowd of fresh adherents; he then proceeded to Vaucouleurs, to hold a conference with the eldest son of his ally the king of France²; and returning thence, he recovered his Swabian inheritance, and became so formidable, that his competitor, who had marched against him, stopped short and returned into Saxony. In the beginning of December, the successful prince was acknowledged as king, at the diet of Mentz, and a large concourse of nobles took the oaths of fealty to him.

Otho, after such a change of fortune, was glad to avenge himself on Philip Augustus by heading the powerful league which his uncle, the king of England, had stirred up. But the rout at Bouvines, where he himself fought well to the last and cut his way through his foes, July 1214, completed the ruin of his affairs; and so he retired to his hereditary estates in Brunswic, and lived peaceably until his death, in the forty-third year of his age, at the castle at Hartzburg, May 1218. As he had no children, with him died all opposition to Frederic, who had already been crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, on the eve of St. James' day, July 1215.

A. D. 1215. *Frederic II.*

1218. Frederic is recognized as sole king of Germany.

1220. Frederic is crowned at Rome.

1222. Apulia humbled. Prince Henry crowned king of the Romans.

1223. The Sicilian Saracens reduced.

1225. Frederic marries Violante of Jerusalem.—Waldemar II. of Denmark released.

1226. The Lombard League renewed.

1227. Pacification in Italy. *Crusade of Frederic II.*—Frederic is excommunicated by the Pope.

² It was agreed that neither Frederic nor the French king should make truce or peace with Otho and with John of England, his uncle, but by mutual consent.

- 1228. Frederic goes to Palestine ; John de Brienne invades Apulia.
- 1229. Frederic returns from his crusade.
- 1230. Frederic makes peace with the Pope.
- 1234. Revolt of Henry, king of the Romans.
- 1235. Henry deposed ; Brunswic erected into a duchy ; Recess of Mentz.
- 1236. The Italian war renewed ; Vicenza sacked.
- 1237. Prince Conrad crowned king of the Romans. Frederic of Austria humbled. Battle of Corte-Nuova.
- 1238. Siege of Brescia.—Irruption of the Moguls.
- 1239. Frederic again excommunicated.
- 1240. Crusade against Frederic ; Ferrara taken.
- 1241. Battle off Meloria.—Rise of the Hanseatic League.
- 1244. Flight of Pope Innocent IV. from Rome.
- 1245. *Council of Lyons* ; Frederic deposed by the Pope.
- 1246. Henry Raspe elected king in Germany ; battle of Frankfort.—Conspiracy of the San Severini.
- 1247. Siege of Ulm ; death of Henry Raspe. Revolt of Parma. Election of William, count of Holland.
- 1248. Siege of Parma raised ; Florence Ghibelin. Swabia revolts.
- 1249. Death of Peter de Vineis. Battle of Fossalta ; Entius taken prisoner.
- 1250. Parma recovered. Death of Frederic II.

FREDERIC II., soon after he was rid of his rival, was acknowledged as king by all the German nobles ; and at Goslar, he received the imperial ornaments from the unwilling Count Palatine, who had been left in charge of them when his brother died. In him, the hardihood of the Swabian race was blended with the wiliness of his mother's family³ ; besides which, having been born and bred in the South, he was more of an Italian than a German, a circumstance which had no small effect upon his policy. The talents with which he was gifted, were most brilliant ; and as great pains had been

³ In his maternal ancestors, there was a cross of Norman cunning with Italian craft.

bestowed on his education⁴, few princes were ever so accomplished: he understood Greek, Latin, Italian, French, German, and even Arabic (the language of his Sicilian Saracens, and in that age the key of natural philosophy); he was also the lover of science, and the enlightened patron of liberal arts and learning. His courtesy, his generosity, his gallant bearing, and his martial skill, were confessed by his enemies. But these fine qualities had a base alloy of insincerity⁵: his religious principles also, if he had any, seem to have been loose and unsettled; and his life was so shamelessly dissolute, that, even when he had the right on his side, good men shrank from upholding him.

The reign of Frederic was the period in which the independence of the princes became an established fact, and the imperial authority finally dwindled into a shadow. Indeed, even before the curses of the popes had aroused a spirit of open insubordination against him, the whole tendency of Frederic's policy went far towards effecting this revolution: for his heart was so bent on strengthening his rule in Italy, that he was careless of the half-barbarous land of his fathers, and of a prerogative which could be of no real use to him, unless he were always on the spot to wield it. Could he have had his own way, Rome would have been his capital, and the mistress of the world. This, however, was not to be yielded to him by the popes, who had lately succeeded in making themselves temporal sovereigns; and he had moreover promised, when first raised to the purple, to give up his Sicilian kingdom to his son *Henry*, and never to allow it to be united to the Empire. It did not cost him

⁴ His father and his uncle Philip had also been highly educated; for Frederic Barbarossa prized learning.

⁵ This is too often the case with men who, like himself and *Charles I.* of England, have always had to deal with unscrupulous fanatics, whether political or religious.

much to break his word. After staying a while in Germany to heal the disorders which still troubled it⁶, he had his son, on whom he had bestowed the title of king of Sicily, also chosen king of the Romans at a diet which he held at Frankfort; and then, having excused himself by saying that he had found it necessary to comply with the will of the princes, he set out for Italy, at the head of a great army, and with his wife *Constance*⁷ was crowned at Rome by Pope Honorius III., Nov. 1220. Besides signing a capitulation and pledging himself to persecute heretics⁸, he had renewed his promise to bequeath Apulia and Sicily to the Roman Church, should he die without heirs; and, as at his former coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle, he vowed to go forth-with to the Holy Land.

That vow, the young emperor was in no hurry to fulfil. He had taken the cross only to please the Pope; and even if he had been more in earnest, the state of his Sicilian kingdom was such as to call for the whole of his attention. He had to wage war at once with the Apulian barons; nor was it until after a hard struggle of nearly two years, in which he stooped to have recourse to craft, that he could break up their overgrown power⁹. Another fierce contest also followed with the revolted Saracens of Sicily. All this time, Pope Honorius was reproaching him for his breach of faith; whose indignation was not lessened by the tidings of

⁶ He conciliated the clergy by confirming their privileges and all the late concessions of Otho.

⁷ Constance of Arragon, the widow of Emeric king of Hungary. She died about eighteen months afterwards, June 1222.—That same year, in the month of May, her youthful son *Henry* had been crowned king of the Romans at Aix-la-Chapelle.

⁸ This engagement at least he fulfilled. He published, Feb. 1222 a detestable constitution, ordering several heretics to be punished with death; and even dated it "*anno imperii nostri præterito, præsentis, et futuro.*"

⁹ For this, and the Sicilian war, see vol. i., p. 400.

the failure of the crusaders in Egypt, or by the disputes which had arisen about the right of nomination to the sees of Capua and Aversa: at last, in the year 1225, Frederic, who had lost his wife, married *John de Brienne's* daughter and heiress *Violante*; and having added the cross to his arms, and to his titles that of King of Jerusalem, engaged in right earnest to go out to the Holy Land. A further respite of two years being granted him, on condition of his sending large succours to the struggling Christians in the East¹; he visited Germany, where he released *Waldemar II.* of Denmark from captivity, that king promising to give up all the late encroachments of the Danes, and to pay a ransom of 100,000 marks²; and he also put the murderers of *Engelbert de Berg*, archbishop of *Cologne*, under the ban of the Empire³, Nov. 1225. In hopes of strengthening his authority in Northern Italy, he summoned a diet to meet at Cremona: but to his dismay, the old spirit of independence showed itself in a gathering of the deputies of many of the towns⁴, and the Lombard League was revived under the Pope's protection, March 1226.

A fresh source of trouble was that very expedition which Frederic had undertaken for the sake of healing his feuds

¹ The whole burthen of the war fell upon Frederic; for though John de Brienne went to several courts, no prince could be induced to take the cross.

² Waldemar soon took up arms again; and for more than a twelve-month, he had great success. But he was beaten at last by the count of *Schwerin* at Bornhovet, where he also lost an eye, July 1227.

³ The archbishop's corpse had been brought by his newly elected successor before the Emperor, at Frankfort. The guilty person, *Frederic*, count of *Isenberg*, who was a kinsman of the man whom he had murdered, when taken, was broken on the wheel, Nov. 1226.

⁴ The towns were Milan, Bologna, Placentia, Verona, Brescia, Faenza, Mantua, Vercelli, Lodi, Bergamo, Turin, Alessandria, Vicenza, Padua, and Treviso. The league was to be for twenty-five years.

with Rome. When he had set sail from Brundisium⁵, Sept. 1227, the illness which had broken out in his fleet forced him to put back : he landed sick at Otranto, with *Lewis the Saint*, the dying landgrave of *Thuringia*⁶, and was forthwith excommunicated, on Michaelmas Day, by Gregory IX., the new pope, who would not believe in the truth of his excuses. The angry pontiff's curses were renewed on Maundy Thursday, in the following year ; yet Frederic, without much heeding them, after great exertions, once more left Brundisium, Aug. 1228, to carry on a Crusade in which he was thwarted at every step by the active hostility of the clergy and the two most powerful military orders⁷. The treaty by which he so soon regained the Holy City, was loudly reviled ; and when he came to Jerusalem, he had to crown himself with his own hand, March 1229 : a

⁵ He had made a treaty with the Lombard towns, Feb. 1227.

⁶ Lewis IV. of Thuringia was the husband of that most lovely and charitable woman *St. Elizabeth of Hungary* (the daughter of king Andrew II). After his death, his brother Henry Raspe tried to deprive Elizabeth of her dower ; and she was obliged to flee to her uncle the bishop of *Bamberg*, with whose help she recovered her just rights. She died, a member of the Tertiary Order of St. Francis, Nov. 1231, in the hospital which she had founded at Marburg : though not more than twenty-four years of age, she had sunk under the burthen of the austerities laid upon her by the priest *Conrad*, her fanatical confessor. Her son *Herman II.* died childless, in the year 1241 ; but from her elder daughter Sophia, duchess of Brabant, the princes of the house of Hesse are descended. By one of these (the famous Lutheran landgrave Philip), her shrine in the church of St. Elizabeth of Marburg, one of the great objects of German veneration, was shamefully violated ; her mortal remains being afterwards scattered and lost.—It was in her chamber, in the castle of Wartburg, that Luther was harboured by the elector of *Saxony*, and that he finished his translation of the Bible.

⁷ For an account of the Crusade, see vol. i., pp. 73, 74.—His treaty with the Infidels was artfully misrepresented : it was given out by the papal faction that he had yielded up to the Mahometans the Church of the Holy Sepulchre itself.

crusade had, in the mean while, been preached against him at home, and Apulia was ravaged by a fanatical host of warriors, who had his faithless father-in-law for their leader, and who wore St. Peter's keys as a badge upon their shoulders⁸. In the month of May, he was already on his return to face his foes, whom he quickly drove out of their conquests. John de Brienne was deserted by his affrighted soldiers, and even the fierce Gregory himself, who from the first had been unable to stand his ground against the Frangipani at Rome, was at a loss what to do⁹; so that, in a short time, with the help of *Herman of Salza*, the master of the Teutonic knights, a reconciliation was patched up, July 1230, and Frederic got out of a troublesome quarrel. He received absolution, and, as the price of it, had to grant an amnesty to the vassals who had risen against him: care was likewise taken by the Pope that the Lombards should be included in the peace¹.

Neither the Pope, however, nor the Lombards could feel themselves safe. Frederic was both a near and dangerous neighbour. He resided in Italy, and some day he might bring down a host of Germans upon them; in Sicily and Apulia, while he roused their fears by the harshness of his rule, his rare administrative talent filled his treasury and vastly increased his military strength; he had colonies of warlike Saracens who would always fight for him against

⁸ The Pope had been driven by the Frangipani and the Roman people to seek refuge in Perugia. He also charged Frederic with having stirred up *Reginald*, the son of *Conrad* (a German who had been duke of *Spoleto*), to invade the territory of which his father had been ousted by Innocent III.

⁹ The Pope wanted to set up Otho IV.'s nephew, Otho the Child, of Brunswick, as emperor.

¹ The Lombards, about this time, pleased the Pope by burning the heretics called Paterini and Cathari, whom we shall notice elsewhere. — Frederic also, to prove his questionable orthodoxy, disgraced himself both in Italy and in Germany as a persecutor.

Christian freedom, and partisans in every city, even in Rome itself, many of whom, like the godless *Eccelin da Romano*², were yet worse than the infidels; and being taught by early experience, he knew well the crooked ways of the men with whom he had to deal, and could beat them at their own weapons. He could be faithless to his word; he had broken covenants and oaths; and thus there was every reason to dread him, and none whatever to trust in him. Among the foremost of his foes were the Milanese. They would never acknowledge his title to the kingdom of Italy, nor allow him to be crowned at Monza with the iron crown of Lombardy, which they held in their keeping. When he wanted to hold a diet at Ravenna, in the year 1232, they and the rest of the League blocked up the passes against the Germans; and two years afterwards, when his son Henry was preparing to revolt, they listened to the overtures of that misguided youth, and promised him the very crown which they had so stubbornly withheld. Delaying his vengeance for the present, Frederic then returned to Germany after a long absence, and his undutiful child had to ask his pardon at Worms³, July 1235, and was bidden to yield up his castles and strongholds: this was done so slowly, that the father lost patience, and the culprit was sent away into Apulia, where he lingered in prison until his death (Feb. 1242). In the midst of this turmoil, the Emperor, who was once more a widower, found leisure for his marriage with *Isabel*, the daughter of John of England⁴; after which, in the month of August, he held a magnificent diet at Mentz,

² For an account of Eccelin and his fate, see vol. i., p. 401, note 8.

³ Though Frederic came without an army, the princes had taken his part: even the Pope, who had lately had his help while driven out of Rome, had written to the German bishops to support him.

⁴ His ill-used wife, Violante, had died in the year 1228.—The welcome given to the new bride while on her way to Worms, was singularly splendid, especially at Cologne.

where, besides kings and princes of the Empire, not less than twelve thousand counts, and knights, and gentlemen, were in attendance. The deposition of the fallen king of the Romans was solemnly decreed, and much important business was transacted. A general peace was proclaimed, which was sworn to by every one ; and that it might not be broken by private wars, there were laws drawn up in German for the settlement of disputes⁵, and a new kind of judges instituted⁶. It was also on this occasion, that the strife between Guelf and Ghibelin was healed in Germany : for *Otho the Child*⁷, the grandson of Henry the Lion, agreed to give up all claim to the title of duke of Saxony ; and even surrendered Brunswic and Luneburg, his alodial lands, which were restored to him as a duchy heritable by females in default of heirs male⁸. At another diet,

⁵ This was the first *Recess*—the name given to the enactments promulgated at the breaking up of the diet—ever written in German.

⁶ The old palatine jurisdictions having fallen into disuse, Frederic created the *hofrichter* (court-judge), who, with his assessors (half nobles, half lawyers), had cognizance of all causes except those which affected the person, life, dignity, and fiefs of a prince, which it belonged to the Emperor to decide.—This system also did not last.

⁷ Otho the Child—so called because he was not ten years old when he succeeded his father William of Luneburg (the youngest son of Henry the Lion), in the year 1213—had, notwithstanding several reverses, kept all the possessions of his house. Frederic II. had been his chief enemy, having, in the year 1227, bought the claims on Brunswic of Agnes of Bavaria and Gertrude of Baden, the daughters of Henry, Count Palatine, his lately deceased uncle ; but the moderation as well as the firmness of his conduct won that emperor's esteem, and led to a permanent reconciliation.

⁸ Otho, duke of Brunswic and Luneburg, having, at his creation, taken the oath of fealty to Frederic (who had now renounced all claim to Brunswic), was by him placed on the bench of princes. He died in June 1252, about a year after the marriage of his youngest daughter *Elisabeth* to the anti-Cæsar William of Holland ; and for a while, his ----- held his territories in common : at last, the two youngest being
1, that division was made by the two others, which, with some

which met in November, on All Saints' Day, at Augsburg, *Wenceslaus Ottocar*, king of Bohemia, who had lately ceded

changes, has since continued :—*ALBERT the Great*, the eldest son, had Brunswick and Wolfenbützel ; *JOHN*, his next brother (whose line ended in his grandson *WILLIAM*, in the year 1369), had Lüneburg and Zell. In the year 1256 (see p. 40, note 1), *Albert the Great* gave his aid to Henry, the young landgrave of Hesse, whose sister, *Elizabeth of Brabant*, became his first but childless wife : his success was great until he was wounded and taken prisoner, Oct. 1263, in a revolt of the Thuringians whom his harshness had provoked. Owing to the same cause, about a twelvemonth before, he had also been driven out of Denmark, the regency of which country had been entrusted to him by the queen-dowager, whom he had lately rescued from captivity in Holstein. When he died, Aug. 1278, his domains were shared between his three sons. *HENRY the Wonderful* had Grubenhagen (the elder branch of which line terminated, A. D. 1393, in his grandson *OTHO*, the fourth husband of *Joanna I.*, queen of Naples ; and the younger, in duke *PHILIP II.*, April 1596) ; but his next brother, *ALBERT II., the Fat*, who on the decease of *WILLIAM*, the third son, got possession of most of the inheritance, died duke of Brunswick and Wolfenbützel, in the year 1318. That prince's numerous sons governed under the presidency of *OTHO the Liberal*, the eldest ; who, having married *Agnes*, the daughter of *Herman the Long*, one of the margraves of *Brandenburg*, and the widow of the margrave *Waldemar*, seized upon *Brandenburg* when the *Ascanian* dynasty had failed : in the beginning of the year 1323, the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria* forced *Otho* to give it up. After *Otho's* death (A. D. 1334), one of his brothers, *MAGNUS the Old and the Pious*, who had just had *Landsberg* in right of his *Ascanian* wife *Sophia of Landsberg* (see p. 52, note 2), obtained the duchy of Brunswick ; and to another brother, *ERNEST the Rich* (whose race ended with his grandson *OTHO the One-Eyed*, in the year 1463), *Gottingen* was assigned. The death of *Magnus* was hastened by grief for the loss of *Landsberg*, which was ceded to the bishop of *Hildesheim* as part of the ransom of his captive son *MAGNUS II., Torquatus*, thus surnamed from the silver collar which he wore ; who succeeded him in the year 1368. *Magnus Torquatus*, on the extinction of the first line of Brunswick Lüneburg, was drawn into a fierce struggle with the dukes of the *Ascanian* house of Saxony : for *William* of Lüneburg had bequeathed him his duchy, although the deceased Saxon duke *Otho*, the husband of his own

the places which his father had gained in Misnia, gave up for 10,000 marks the portion of Swabia which belonged to his wife *Cunigunda*, one of Philip of Swabia's daughters.

daughter *Elisabeth*, and the brother of the Elector *Rodolf II.*, had formerly received the investiture of it, in reversion, from the Emperor Charles IV. *Rodolf II.* and his brother and successor *Wenceslaus* upheld the cause of Otho's son *Albert*; and when, in the year 1373, *Magnus Torquatus* had fallen in a fight with the count of *Schaumburg*, his sons were fain to compromise their pretensions, the two elder ones being eventually married to the daughters of *Wenceslaus*. The war breaking out again, *Wenceslaus* was slain and the Saxons were routed, at Winsen, in the year 1388; so that *Luneburg* was recovered by the Brunswick princes, who now agreed to establish the right of primogeniture in their family. *FREDERIC*, the eldest of them, ruled alone for some time with so much reputation, that the German electors resolved to make him emperor in the room of the incapable *Wenceslaus* of Bohemia, May 1400: but in less than a fortnight, he was killed, near *Fritzlar*, on the 5th of June, by the count of *Waldeck*, who with a body of armed men was trying to arrest him.

When *Frederic* was dead, the new law of primogeniture was abolished; and in the year 1409, his brothers made a partition of the family domains between them, *BERNARD* being duke of *Luneburg*, and *HENRY*, of *Wolfenbittel*.—The latter of these ducal lines inherited the lands of the extinct house of Brunswick-Göttingen; conquered most of the bishopric of *Hildesheim* (A.D. 1521); and ended in *FREDERIC-ULRIC*, who died in consequence of a fall from his horse, Aug. 1634: its possessions passed to the branch of *Luneburg*, which had lately gained from it the succession of Brunswick-Grubenhagen by a decree of the Imperial Chamber.

From the great-grandson of *Bernard* of Brunswick-Luneburg, *ERNEST* of *Zell*,—who died in Jan. 1546, and whose elder brother *Otho* founded the line of *Harburg*, extinct in 1642,—all the existing members of the house of Brunswick derive their origin. Two of his sons left children. *HENRY*, the elder of them, gave up his portion of *Luneburg*, and retired with the county of *Dannenberg* from active life; but afterwards marrying, became the father of *AUGUSTUS*, who, in the year 1634, succeeded to the duchy of *BRUNSWIC-WOLFENBUTTEL*: from the second son of *Augustus*, came the dukes Brunswick-Bevern, the senior branch of whom inherited *Wolfenbittel* in the year 1735. (The unfortunate *Ivan VI.* of Russia was also of the house of

Having thus settled affairs in Germany, Frederic next endeavoured to punish the Italians who had abetted the rebellion of his wayward son. Hoping besides to bring the whole nation under his yoke, and urged by the restless Eccelin¹, he crossed the Alps with 3000 horse, and came on to Verona, Aug. 1236: thence, at the head of a Ghibelin army which was joined on its march by the allied forces of Cremona, Parma, Modena, and Reggio, he advanced beyond the Mincio into the country about Mantua and Brescia, which he savagely laid waste. Padua and Vicenza attempted a diversion by sending their men to threaten Verona; but he suddenly marched upon Vicenza while its best warriors were away, took it, and sacked it. As he was called back to Germany, to inquire into the misdeeds of *Frederic the Warlike*, duke of Austria, whom he put under the ban of the Empire for his contumacy¹;

Bevern.) The line of BRUNSWIC-LUNEBOURG was continued by WILLIAM of Zell, the youngest of Ernest's sons: from his grandson ERNEST AUGUSTUS, created Elector of Hanover (Dec. 1692), the Brunswick Sovereigns of England and Hanover are descended.—The princes of both houses of Brunswick were decided Lutherans; and, like most of the German protestants, were slow to depart from the custom of partition. An extraordinary expedient was once resorted to, in consequence of this practice, by the seven sons of William of Zell. After their father's death (Aug. 1592), they resolved, for the good of the family, that the eldest who was living should wield the government; and that only one of them should marry—a privilege for which they were to draw lots. The lucky man was *George*, the sixth son; who was the father of the elector Ernest Augustus, and also of three elder brothers (CHRISTIAN-LEWIS, duke of Luneburg; GEORGE-WILLIAM, duke of Zell; and the papist, JOHN-FREDERIC, duke of Calenberg), none of whom had male issue.

¹ That worthy, in the year 1238, divorced the first of his four childless wives, and married *Selvaigia*, one of Frederic's numerous bastard children.

¹ See pp. 62, 63, note 2.—The Emperor had the help of the king of Bohemia, the chief prelates of Germany, the dukes of Bavaria and

he left the command of his troops to Eccelin, into whose power the strong city of Padua fell, towards the end of the following winter. In the mean while, he himself had successfully invaded Austria, and had also had his second son Conrad, who was not yet nine years old, crowned as king of the Romans, Jan. 1237; so that he was again able to be in Italy in the summer, when he was met, near Verona, by a body of ten thousand Apulian Saracens, and his adherents in Lombardy speedily gathered around his standard. This time, Mantua yielded to him without a struggle; and just before the campaign broke up, Nov. 1237, the Milanese were routed on the bloody field of Corte-Nuova, their sacred car being helplessly abandoned², and their podestat, *Peter Tiepolo* (whose father was doge of Venice), taken prisoner. The people of Bergamo, who had hitherto been neutral, turned against the fugitives, and slaughtered many of them³. Lodi and Pavia, which were Ghibelin at heart, no longer feared to be openly on the Imperial side; and such a shock was felt throughout the League, that most of the towns forsook it in their first fright, and even Milan, Brescia, Placentia, and Bologna, which still held together, begged hard for mercy. Frederic, however, would hear of nothing but unconditional submission. He forgot that there were men in those cities, who would die rather than betray the freedom for which their fathers had so nobly fought and suffered.

Carinthia, the landgrave of Thuringia, and the Austrian nobles themselves.

² The defenders of the *carroccio* stood firm in the battle; but when they retreated in the night, they left it behind, after stripping it of the standards which it bore. Frederic sent it to Rome, to be placed as a trophy in the Capitol.

³ Many of the Milanese were saved and harboured by *Pagano della Torre*, lord of Valsassina; who thus laid the foundation of the power which his house acquired at Milan.

The siege of Brescia taught him his mistake. He was forced to raise it, Oct. 1238, after having done his utmost for sixty-eight days to shake the heroic steadfastness of its citizens; and his retreat to Cremona was the signal which encouraged the most disheartened of his foes to rally in behalf of the cause which had so lately seemed hopeless. The wrath of the Venetians had been aroused by the foolish cruelty with which the son of their doge had been hurried off to a dungeon in Apulia, and afterwards hanged upon the sea shore (as if in mockery of their naval pride): they therefore, with their rivals the Genoese, readily declared themselves for the League, in alliance with the Pope; who had been highly enraged at hearing that the Emperor was about to secure for *Entius*⁴, a bastard son, the island of Sardinia, of which Rome claimed the sovereignty⁵. The enmity of Gregory IX. was not of a kind to slumber long. Accordingly, on Palm Sunday, and again on Holy Thursday, March 1239, he excommunicated "Frederic, who calls himself Emperor;" and besides harping upon a string of grievances and misdemeanours, he sought to blacken his

⁴ *Entius*, *Enzius*, *Hentius*, *Hents*, *Enzio*, and *Henry*, are the names given to this prince, whose mother was an Italian lady.—*Sismondi* thinks that his real name was *Hans*, or *John*; *Heinz*, however, is the abbreviation of *Heinrich*.

⁵ The popes had gained much influence in Sardinia, which they claimed as an island on the strength of the forged donation of *Constantine*, by protecting the weaker lords. The *Pisan Visconti* had stoutly withstood their claims: but in the year 1237, *Ubaldo Visconti* had married *Adelaide*, marchioness of *Massa*, the heiress of *Gallura* and *Torre*, and the kinswoman of *Innocent III.* and *Gregory IX.*; had received absolution; and, renouncing his allegiance to *Pisa*, had sworn fealty to *Gregory*. Great was the sensation which his conduct caused at *Pisa*; and feuds broke out between the *Conti* (the followers of the counts of *Gherardesca*) and the *Visconti*, in the midst of which he died. His widow *Adelaide* agreed to marry *Entius* (Oct. 1238); who was afterwards created king of *Sardinia*.

character by artfully throwing out doubts as to his belief in the Catholic faith⁶. Protests were sent by Frederic to the courts of several kings and princes ; but his attempts to justify himself drew forth abusive circular letters, which, though again met by angry rejoinders, were not without effect upon waverers and those with whom the clergy had influence. His cause was irretrievably damaged.

The revolt of Treviso, owing to the defection of *Alberic*, Eccelin's brother, and the flight of the Guelf marquis of *Este* with the count of *St. Bonifacio* from the imperial army, were disasters which befell Frederic during the next season. He had rather wasted time in the territory of

⁶ Frederic was accused by the Pope of having stirred up seditions against him at Rome ; hindered the proceedings of his legate against the Albigenses ; kept churches and sees vacant in the kingdom of Sicily ; imprisoned, banished, and put to death several clerks, among whom were two Franciscans, who had been burned alive ; imprisoned envoys and other persons who were on their way to Rome ; seized on the lands of the Roman Church, and invaded Sardinia ; plundered the estates of churches and monasteries, and obliged abbots to pay monthly contributions to build fortresses ; failed to restore the lands of the Templars and Hospitallers, and proscribed the vassals whom he had agreed to pardon ; and of having prevented the recovery of the Holy Land, and the re-establishment of Romania, or the Eastern Empire, by the Latins. Most of these charges, Frederic, in his rejoinders, either refuted or explained ; so the Pope, in a circular letter which began with likening him to the Beast in the Apocalypse (Rev. xiii. 1), retailed a story of his having poisoned Lewis the Saint of Thuringia, and taxed him with having said that the world had been deceived by three impostors (*baratores*),—Christ, Moses, and Mahomet,—of whom two had died in glory, and one had been hanged for his unworthiness. Besides this blasphemy, the Emperor was charged with having asserted that man was to believe nothing but what his natural reason could prove. Frederic, in his answer, compared Gregory to the other Apocalyptic Beast (Rev. xiii. 11), and tried to meet his calumnies by a profession of right sentiments in matters of religion. But, unhappily, his life and habits told sadly against him.

Bologna and in the Milanese; and when he should have marched to recover Treviso, he was stopped by an eclipse of the sun⁷. Withdrawing from Lombardy, he went to Pisa, where he spent the winter in strengthening his party in Tuscany. Thence, in the month of February (A.D. 1240), he sallied forth to attack Rome; being welcomed by most of the towns on his way, while in the threatened city, the Pope was loudly called upon to yield. Gregory, aged as he was, did not, however, flinch at the sight of danger⁸. Causing the holiest relics to be borne before him, he went in solemn procession through a long line of streets to St. Peter's; and blessing the crowds which thronged him, he bade them take up arms against the foes of the Church: the crusade thus proclaimed was zealously preached by the friars, and in less than a day, so large a number had crossed themselves,—even the priests arraying themselves for the war,—that Frederic's hopes were at once baffled. He turned aside into Apulia, and had the cruelty to put to death every prisoner found with the cross upon him. In the meanwhile, another army of Venetian, Lombard, and Bolognese crusaders, headed by a legate, had beset Ferrara; which yielded, June 1240, after a siege of four months, when the

⁷ Whatever Frederic may have disbelieved, he was not above believing in astrology. His army never marched until an astrologer had ascertained the right moment for starting.

⁸ He had gone too far to recede. He had already offered, the year before, to bestow the imperial crown upon Robert of Artois, the brother of St. Lewis. St. Lewis, however, and the French barons, indignantly refused to take up arms against the Emperor: for if the Pope were thus to triumph, they rightly argued that he would be able to trample upon all the princes in the world. Not to show want of respect to his injunctions, they undertook to send ambassadors to enquire what sort of belief Frederic held; and, if either he, or even the Pope himself, were unsound in the faith, they would then persecute, even to death. When the envoys came to Frederic, he vehemently asserted his orthodoxy, shedding a flood of hypocritical tears.

veteran Ghibelin chief *Salinguerra* had been lured out to a conference, and seized⁹. The Guelfs and their leader the marquis Azzo of Este were thus firmly established as masters of the place.

The Pope having summoned a council to meet at Rome the following Easter, Frederic, who was then ravaging the lands around Benevento, determined to thwart a design which boded him no good. Most of Tuscany and Spoleto was in his power, and his son Entius and a body of German and Saracen troops had overrun the march of Ancona; it therefore remained to close the way through Romagna to the bishops of the papal faction. Thither he betook himself, leaving a force to reduce Benevento; and when, at the end of August, Ravenna had fallen, he besieged Faenza¹, which held out until April 1241, in which month Benevento also surrendered. Still more successful were his measures, shortly afterwards, when, in spite of his warnings, the French and Spanish bishops embarked at Nice for Rome in the galleys of the Genoese republic. These were encountered, near the isle of Meloria, by Entius, with the combined fleets of Sicily and Pisa, May 1241; and three of the galleys being sunk, and about nineteen taken, the majority of the prelates, as well as the legates who accompanied them, were carried away into captivity. A number of church dignitaries sent as proxies to the Council, and 4000 Genoese seamen and warriors, shared the same fate: the booty also was immense².

⁹ *Salinguerra*, the head of the *Torelli* (the rivals of the house of Este in Ferrara), was then eighty years of age. He was carried away to Venice by the doge James Tiepolo, who himself was at the siege; and there he died a captive, July 1244.

¹ The Bolognese had induced Faenza to join the Lombard League.—It was during this siege, that Frederic issued tokens of stamped leather, which were afterwards fully paid in gold.

² The money taken was divided at Pisa between the Sicilians and

Owing to the spirited remonstrances of St. Lewis, the French ecclesiastics were soon set free.

It was at this season of trouble, in which the Church and the Empire were at deadly strife, that Christendom was well nigh destroyed by the inroads of the Tartar hordes. Four years before, the might of Russia had been borne down; and now the resistance of Poland was crushed at Liegnitz (April 1241), Bohemia lay helpless, and the tide of desolation was sweeping over the plains of Hungary: even Germany had not altogether escaped the dreadful visitation². Letters were written by Frederic, in which he called upon the princes of Europe to unite against the common enemy; yet not a man would come forward. His foes did not scruple to cast upon him the whole blame of these disasters.

The death of Gregory, in August, opened to him some gleams of hope which were doomed to be sadly overclouded. Except for the few days in which the infirm Celestin IV. was pontiff, the see of Rome was left without a head until June 1243, when Innocent IV. was elected; but the cardinals had not chosen to treat with Frederic, and in his rage he had let loose his Saracens to plunder the possessions of the Church. As Innocent, however, had always been his friend, he renewed his negotiations, and a peace was actually sworn to at Rome by his commissioners, on Holy Thursday, March 1244. All this labour was lost. Its only fruits were the flight of the Pope⁴ in June to Genoa, the proud

the Pisans by bushels. The captive churchmen were shut up in the chapter house of the Cathedral, from whence they were afterwards transported to Salerno.—The Pisan fleet was commanded in the battle by Count *Ugolin Buzzachero de Simoni*.

² For an account of the irruption of the Tartars under Batu Khan, see vol. i., p. 84.

⁴ Frederic would not give up the places which he had conquered, nor release the imprisoned bishops, till he had first received absolution; and the Pope could not, or would not trust him.

city of his birth, which even after the shock of the defeat at Meloria had defied the attacks made upon it by sea and land; and the General Council of Lyons, July 1245, in which Frederic was excommunicated, and sentenced to be deposed from the Empire and the crown of Sicily¹. When the Emperor heard of this last insult, he was at Turin², whither he had gone to be near the council³. He is said to have sent for the casket in which his royal ornaments were kept, and to have set the crown firmly upon his brows, crying out that it should not be lost without bloodshed.

In Germany, although the princes had been bidden to choose a new emperor, no great readiness was shown, at first, to obey the Pope. But after a while, on Ascension Day, May 1246, the Thuringian landgrave, *Henry Raspe*, (Lewis the Saint's brother,) was set up as king, at Hochheim, near Wartzburg, by the leading ecclesiastical electors, several of the lesser bishops and lay feudatories joining with them; and by *Siegfrid the Young*, of *Eppstein*, archbishop of *Mentz*, a crusade was then preached against all infidels: a legate came also with indulgences from Rome, to stir up the people to fight for the "Parson's King" (der Pfaffenkönig), as the new Cæsar was nicknamed. Henry Raspe summoned a diet to meet in July, on St. James' Day, at Frankfort: but in this he was thwarted by the Emperor's son Conrad, whom, however, he defeated,

¹ See also the History of the Popes, vol. i., pp. 364, 365.

² He had just left Verona, where he had erected Austria into a kingdom.—This privilege became a dead letter. Frederic the Warlike hardly lived to assert it; and the extinction of his dynasty and the downfall of the imperial power were against the revival of such a claim.

³ Though he did not think it safe to attend the council, he sent his ministers *Thaddæus* of *Suessa* and *Peter de Vineis* thither, to act on his behalf. It was the lukewarmness of *Peter de Vineis* at the council, which first shook him in his master's favour.

in the beginning of August, and drove out of Swabia. Instead of finding that duchy an easy conquest, he failed in the sieges of Reutlingen and Ulm; the latter of which he raised, owing to the intense coldness of the season, and was thence on his way to Aix-la-Chapelle, to be crowned, when he was surprised by Conrad, and his army routed. Utterly at a loss, he returned to Thuringia, and died at his castle of Wartburg, Feb. 1247¹. His crown, so soon vacant, was refused by *Henry II.*, duke of *Brabant*, *Haco*, king of Norway, and others to whom it went a begging; but *William*, count of *Holland*, a youth under twenty, lent himself to be the tool of the Pope's legate and the three Rhenish archbishops, and was chosen king, in October, at a diet near Cologne. Aided by his cousin *Henry*², who soon afterwards succeeded his father as duke of *Brabant*, *William* besieged Aix-la-Chapelle, the next year; and having taken it, was crowned there by *Conrad*, archbishop of *Cologne*, on All Saints' Day, Nov. 1248, when he had first been knighted by the king of Bohemia, now one of his chief supporters. Wretched indeed was the state of Germany! Feuds and private wars sprung up every where; and the country was cursed with a set of robber nobles, who, from their strongholds, which were built to command the roads, would levy tolls and plunder wayfarers³: so dreadful was the evil in the Rhineland, that the neighbouring prelates, princes, and cities, began to

¹ Some say that he died of his wounds; others, that his end was hastened by his grief.

² *William's* mother *Matilda*, who on her marriage renounced all claim to her father's succession,—the earliest known instance, it is said, of this practice,—was the daughter of *Henry I.* of *Brabant*, and the sister of the late duke *Henry II.*

³ An archbishop of *Cologne* being asked by the castellan of a fortress which he had just built, how the garrison was to be maintained; the worthy prelate dryly answered, that *close by the castle four roads met!*

league themselves against the disturbers of peace, as early as the year in which William was elected ². The troubles and confusion of the times were likewise heightened by the revolt of Conrad's vassals in Swabia (A. D. 1248); and by the disputes which arose on the extinction of the houses of Thuringia and Austria, owing to the deaths of Henry Raspe and Frederic the Warlike. *Henry the Illustrious*, margrave of *Misnia*, became the landgrave of Thuringia; but the duke of Brabant's brother, *Henry the Child*, was eventually allowed to inherit the alodial territory of Hesse, in right of his maternal descent from Lewis the Saint ³. Austria, the Emperor put into sequestration, under the care of *Otho*, count of *Eberstein* ⁴; who could not stand his ground against the king of Bohemia's son, *Uladislaus*, the margrave of *Moravia*, whose wife was of the house of Bamberg. *Uladislaus* soon dying, it was seized by *Herman VI.*, margrave of *Baden*, who had married his widow; and a few years later, it fell into the hands of *Uladislaus'* brother *Ottocar*, the crown prince of Bohemia.

While Conrad was struggling in Germany, Frederic's attention was almost wholly taken up by the affairs of Italy. At the outset, he thought that he could defy the Pope. The kingdom of the two Sicilies gave him a good base for his military operations: the most learned and able men of the age were on his side; one half of the free cities and the powerful republic of Pisa were Ghibelin; and

² This proved the germ of the Confederation of the Rhine, some years later.

³ For the succession to Thuringia and Hesse, see p. 39, note 6.—See likewise p. 109, note 8.

⁴ Austria was heritable by females, and might be bequeathed by will; but the last duke had died childless and intestate. At first, therefore, the husbands of the heiresses of the house of Bamberg only claimed alodial lands and money.—For the various claimants to Austria, see pp. 63, 64, note 2.

while he could reckon on the staunch fidelity of his Saracens, the influence of the Church was weakened by the spread of heresy⁵. But the Pope had the mendicant friars to uphold him; and it might be said of these that their name was Legion. It was not long before Frederic learned what a stinging swarm he had to deal with; and though at last he drove them out of his own dominions, there were a thousand ways in which they could still distress and wound him. Sedition was sown broadcast by their preaching; the minds of the timid were shaken; waverers were gained over; religious feelings were cunningly worked upon; and thus, even the most loyal cities began to betray symptoms of disaffection, and some of the Emperor's oldest friends were seduced to plot against his life⁶. In his fright, he bade the archbishop of *Salerno* and other divines examine his faith, and sent them as his vouchers to the Pope; by which they only drew upon themselves a sharp rebuke: he also got St. Lewis to plead for him; offering even to give up the kingdom of Sicily to *Henry*, his son by his second marriage, and to be a crusader in the Holy Land for the rest of his days, if he were but absolved, and Conrad crowned as emperor. It was insisted upon that he should come himself to the papal

⁵ Frederic inveighed against the wealth of the clergy, in his letters to princes, as the cause of the corruption of the Church. "It would be charity," said he, "to take away the superfluous riches with which they are laden to their condemnation." He thus managed to offend many of the dignified clergy, who might have supported him out of hatred to the friars.

⁶ As early as the year 1246, the two sons of his Grand Justiciary *De Mora*, and the *San Severini*, and others, were detected in a plot to assassinate Frederic, which had been concerted with the Franciscans. The *De Moras* found a refuge in the Pope's dominions; and those who were executed, accused him of having known their bloody secret.—Letters and emissaries were also sent by Innocent to sow sedition in the Two Sicilies.

court at Lyons : and he was once more at Turin⁷, when word was brought to him that the hitherto devoted city of Parma had cast off its allegiance. The Guelf exiles, many of whom were connected with the Pope's family, had returned, and had overpowered the Ghibelins; who were deserted by the people in the contest, and their leader slain, June 1247.

As Parma was the key of most important communications, Azzo of Este threw himself into it, and the Guelfs did their best to strengthen its defences. In a short time, Frederic appeared before it, with an army which was joined by Eccelin and by the Ghibelins from all parts of Italy, and laid waste the lands in the neighbourhood : he even built a city on the site of his entrenched camp, close under its walls, whither he meant to remove the inhabitants, when hunger had forced them to yield⁸. But in the winter, while some of his followers were gone home, and he was out with his hawks, fowling; the men whom he was besieging, sallied forth; surprised and stormed the new city, which bore the name of Vittoria; and, putting his soldiers to flight with great slaughter, took his baggage, and treasure, and crown jewels⁹, Feb. 1248: he happened to meet the fugitives, and was hurried along with them to Cremona. On the other hand, though he was thus left powerless in Lombardy, his bastard son *Frederic*

⁷ Matthew Paris says that he had a great army; and that Eustius had lately ensnared and hanged one of Innocent's Genoese kinsmen.

⁸ He is said to have been guilty of beheading several Parmesan prisoners, threatening to put more of them to death, every day, until the town yielded. The men of Pavia remonstrated with him, and made him give up his design.—A few weeks after the siege was raised, he hanged *Marcellin*, bishop of *Arezzo*, who had been taken while commanding the Guelf troops in the March of Ancona.

⁹ Thaddeus of Suesza and 2000 men were killed, 3000 men were taken prisoners, and the *carroccio* of Cremona was captured.

of *Antioch*¹ had just aided the insurgent Ghibelins to seize Florence, where they even demolished the fortified houses of the Guelfs; so that throughout Tuscany² the imperial cause was triumphant. It was not so in Romagna; for in the month of May, the Guelfs of Bologna forced Imola, Faenza, and a number of other towns, to come over into their league.

The next year, the Tuscan stronghold of Capraia surrendered to the Emperor; who carried away the most distinguished of his prisoners to Apulia, to be blinded, or to be put to death. About this time, his famous minister *Peter de Vineis*³, who had quite lost his confidence, was charged with having been bribed to poison him, and doomed to lose his sight: the wretched man, in his despair, dashed his head against a stone wall, and died. Another heavy disaster, was the battle of Fossalta, near Modena, in which, after much hard fighting, Entius was overpowered and taken prisoner by the Bolognese, May 1249. As a law was passed that he should never be ransomed, that gallant prince, young, brave, and strikingly beautiful, spent the twenty-two remaining years of his life in confinement; being sumptuously maintained in the palace of the podestat at the expense of the republic. Towards the autumn, the victorious Bolognese attacked Modena; ravaging its territory until the citizens agreed to be on friendly terms with

¹ He was vicar of the Empire in Tuscany, as Entius was in Lombardy.

² Besides Pisa, Sienna and Volterra were already Ghibelin; Lucca had sided with Florence and the Guelfs.

³ Peter de Vineis, who was born at Capua and had been a begging student at the university of Bologna, acquired great renown as a jurist, an orator, and a poet. One of the earliest sonnets is of his composition. Frederic was so taken up with him, that he employed him as his secretary, created him a judge, counsellor, and prothonotary, and trusted him with all his secrets.

them, Jan. 1250⁴. The Ghibelins, soon after this loss, recovered Parma by craft; but though Eccelin still carried on the war in Northern Italy, Frederic, who had gone into Apulia, was too disheartened to do any thing. His troubles did not last much longer. He died at Ferentino, near Luceria, of dysentery, Dec. 1250⁵.

It was in this reign, that a handful of Teutonic knights, under brother *Herman of Balck*, boldly threw themselves beyond the eastern frontier, to spread the Gospel and the power of their order by the sword among the Pagan tribes on the shores of the Baltic. From their camp, on the Vistula, which they fortified and enlarged into the city of Thorn, (A. D. 1231,) they extended their sway over Prussia and the neighbouring countries⁶. It was also in Frederic's days, that the free imperial cities fully established their rights⁷; and that the league was made between Lubeck

⁴ The terms were honourable to the Modenese, who happened to have given their foes a check. They had kept within their walls, until a dead ass in silver chains had been shot by means of a catapult into the principal fountain of their city, to provoke them to come out; on which they had sallied forth, cut their way to the catapult, and fairly carried it off.

⁵ The Pope was now much enraged at hearing that his dying enemy had been absolved by the loyal archbishop of *Palermo*. By many it was hardly believed that Frederic was dead. In the year 1262, a low-born pretender, *John of Coderia*, was taken and hanged in Sicily, where he had passed himself off as that emperor. Thirty years afterwards, another impostor, *Frederic Holstuch*, or *Tilo Colup*, was burnt at Wetzlar by order of Rodolf of Habsburg; and a little later, a third scoundrel gulled the citizens of Lubeck for a while, and then disappeared. A fourth was burnt as Eslingen, in the year 1295, by the Emperor Adolphus. Even so late as the year 1546, a mad tailor was locked up at Sondershausen, whom the credulous boors of Schwartzburg had believed to be Frederic II. himself, come at length to reform the Empire.

⁶ For the history of the Teutonic knights, see vol. i., pp. 80, 81, note 5.

⁷ In the tenth century, the cities of Germany were either imperial

and Hamburg, (A.D. 1241,) which, as the times became more unsettled, expanded itself into the great confederacy of the Hanse Towns^a.

or else under the power of the dukes and counts. The imperial cities were generally governed by their bishops, as the vicars of the sovereign, until the reign of Henry V. ; who in many places substituted his own bailiff. He also enfranchised the lower order of townsmen, and forbade the lord to seize their goods or to take a heriot when they died : moreover the citizens were classed in companies, according to their trades, and gradually began to elect councils. These, at first, were subordinate to the imperial or episcopal bailiff ; but about Frederic's time, the citizens either bought the jurisdiction, —Hamburg bought it from its bishop, in the year 1225,—or usurped it through the lord's neglect, or drove out the bailiff. After Frederic's death, a number of the towns in Swabia and Franconia became immediate (*unreichsmittelbar*) ; and thus the free imperial cities were so many and so important, that they were soon admitted to vote in the diets with the electors and princes. Friendly to the Emperor, they were ever hostile to the nobles : whom they annoyed by offering rights of citizenship to all strangers, sometimes even making outburghers (*Ausburger*) of persons who dwelt far away. In the suburbs or liberties, between the city wall and the palisades which bounded its territory, a crowd of fugitive bondmen would settle, who were termed the burgesses of the Pale (*Pfahlburger*,—the French word Faubourg is from the same source).

^a *Hanse*, a Low-German word which means association, was the name given to this union of towns for the defence of their trade against piracy, robbery, and extortion. The Hanseatic League was gradually joined by eighty cities, and was divided into four dioceses, of which Lubeck, Cologne, Brunswic, and Dantzic were the capitals : it had likewise factories abroad, the chief of which were in London, Bruges, Bergen, and Novogorod. It was at its height in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and was even able to wage wars with the kings of Denmark and Sweden : but these exertions, together with intestine quarrels, the jealousy of the German princes, and the rivalry of the Dutch and English, caused it to decline ; so that in the sixteenth century, in the reign of Charles V., it was practically broken up. Its doom was sealed in the Thirty Years' War, at the end of which, only Lubeck (the presiding city of the association), Bremen, and Hamburg, were still allowed to exist as Hanse Towns.

The death of Frederic did not restore peace to Germany. It was followed by more than twenty-two years of anarchy, during which no sovereign really ruled—a period which has been called the Great Interregnum⁹.

THE GREAT INTERREGNUM.

A. D. 1250. *The Great Interregnum.*

1251. Battle of Oppenheim. Conrad IV. leaves Germany.

1252. Diet of Frankfort. Conrad lands in Apulia.

1253. Capua and Naples reduced by Conrad.

1254. *Death of Conrad IV.*

1255. Confederation of the Rhine.

1256. *Death of William of Holland.*

1257. *Richard, earl of Cornwall, king of the Romans.*—Counter election of Alfonso of Castille.

1259. Richard returns to England.

1260. Richard again visits Germany.

1262. Ottocar receives investiture of Bohemia and Austria from Richard.

1269. The diet of Worms held by Richard.

1271. Death of Richard, king of the Romans.

1273. End of the Great Interregnum.

CONRAD IV., in his father's lifetime, had been unable to get himself obeyed even by those who would not acknowledge the claims of William of Holland; and when driven out of Swabia, he had taken refuge with *Otho the Illustrious*, duke of *Bavaria*, whose daughter he had married. He was not more successful now that he attempted to reign in his own right, as he was beaten at Oppenheim (March 1251); so he resolved to go and try what he could do in Italy, and accordingly set out on his march southward with an army, Oct. 1251, leaving behind him his wife, who was then with child. The next year, at a

⁹ The Great Interregnum is also dated from the papal deposition of Frederic, in the year 1245; or else from the return of Richard, earl of Cornwall, to England, in the year 1260.

diet held in June at Frankfort, his rival, who had lately become the son-in-law of Otho of Brunswick, declared Swabia and his other fiefs to be forfeited¹. This sentence was confirmed by the Pope.

In Italy, as well as in Germany, the begging friars were busily preaching the crusade against Conrad. In Florence, where a revolution had broken out and the Guelf exiles had been recalled², an energetic government had been created, which was fast gaining ground against the Ghibelin party throughout Tuscany; in Lombardy, the Pope, who was now on his way home, had been received with enthusiasm; and in the kingdom of Sicily itself, the bastard Manfred, as regent for his brother, was fighting in Apulia against rebels³. When Conrad, therefore, had reached the head of the Adriatic, with a force increased by troops which Eccelin had sent him; instead of advancing by land, he thought it safer to wait a few months until he could cross over into Apulia in the ships of Italy and Pisa. His expedition was crowned with success. He vanquished even the determined resistance of Naples, in the great square of which city he had a steed bridled, in token of the way in which he meant to deal with his foes; and he was restoring order with a strong hand,

¹ On the ground that homage had not been done to him within a year and a day after his coronation.—Thus, when Conrad died, young Conradin had only a few small towns and fiefs for his whole inheritance.

² While Frederic was still living, the aristocratical government which he had set up in Florence, was suddenly overturned, Oct. 1250; and on the tidings of his death, the Guelf exiles were recalled. Three years afterwards,—“the year of victories,”—Sienna and Volterra were forced to become Guelf; Pisa itself had to ask for peace; and the supremacy of the Ghibelins in Tuscany was overthrown.

³ The island of Sicily was kept to its allegiance by Henry.—For the affairs of the kingdom of Sicily, see vol. i. pp. 402, 403.

when he sickened and died at Lavello, May 1254. As his brother Henry had gone down to the grave before him⁴, and his own son Conradin, the last of his race, was a helpless child ; with him passed away, like a dream, the rule of the Swabian house in Germany.

WILLIAM of HOLLAND⁵, even when left to reign alone,

⁴ Frederic of Antioch was also dead. He died a short time before Frederic II.

⁵ The low, marshy, Frisian country, which is now called *Holland*,—the name is first met with in a charter of the Emperor Henry IV., May 1064,—was governed by a dynasty of counts, one of whom, DIEDRICH II., was, in the year 985, confirmed by Otho III. in the possession of fiefs which had been held during pleasure. Its industrious inhabitants have to defend themselves by embankments against the sea, from the inundations of which they have often suffered. In the year 860, an overwhelming tide drove back the waters of the Rhine, and so changed the bed of the river, that what was once the main branch loses itself in the sands of Catwick op Rhyn, some leagues below Leyden ; and another great inundation, Feb. 1230, covered a wide extent of dry land with the waves of the Zuyder Zee. This last calamity was in the reign of FLORENCE IV. ; who was killed at a tournament at Nimeguen, in the year 1234, when his eldest son WILLIAM II., the future King of the Romans, was not yet seven years old. William, after his death (Jan. 1256), was succeeded, as count of Holland and Zealand and lord of Friesland, by his son FLORENCE V., then about two years of age ; that prince being under the guardianship of his uncle *Florence*, who was mortally wounded at a tournament, March 1258. Florence, who had much ability, subdued the Frieslanders, and recovered his father's bones ; but he was treacherous and lustful, and thus provoked some of his nobles to carry him off when hunting, and to murder him, June 1296. His only surviving child, JOHN I., married *Elizabeth*, the daughter of Edward I. of England ; and, dying soon afterwards, Nov. 1299, at the age of nineteen, was the last of the dynasty. Its vacant fiefs were taken possession of by the younger JOHN D'AVESNES, count of Hainault, whose mother *Alice* was the elder sister of William, king of the Romans. Together with Hainault, they afterwards became the property of a younger branch of the house of Bavaria ; and thence they passed into the hands of the dukes of Burgundy, from whom they were in-

found his sovereignty to be still a shadow. He was defied by *Margaret*, countess of *Flanders*, whom he had sought to deprive of her rights in West Zealand⁶; the archbishops who had raised him to the throne, were among the foremost to treat him with insult⁷; by one of the citizens of Utrecht, he was pelted with stones in the open street; and when his wife was stopped on the highway by *Herman Ritberg*, a petty knight of the Palatinate, he was fain to pay a ransom for her. Good reason had he

herited by the Spanish house of Austria.—William of Holland's younger sister was *Margaret*, countess of *Hennberg*, a lady who is said to have refused alms to a poor woman, abusively calling her an adulteress; and fabled to have been punished by bringing forth, on Good Friday, March 1277, three hundred and sixty-five children at a birth, of which litter the males were all christened John, and the females Elizabeth. As the year began on Lady Day, if she had twins on the 26th of March, she had then as many children as there were days in the new year; and a silly remark of this kind may have given rise to this wonderful tale.

⁶ Margaret, in the year 1248, had summoned Florence, then governing in behalf of his brother, to do homage for West Zealand; and on his refusal, had declared war against him, and taken him prisoner. Although the quarrel was made up, it broke out again in July 1252, when William confiscated some of her fiefs, and granted them to his brother-in-law, *John d'Avesnes*, her eldest son by an annulled marriage. Her sons *Guy* and *John* of *Dampierre* invaded Zealand, and, in their turn, were taken prisoners by Florence, near West Kappel (a town in Walcheren, now swallowed up by the sea), July 1253; on which Margaret called for the help of France, renewing her offer to Charles of Anjou, St. Lewis' brother, of her life interest in Hainault. Charles entered Hainault the next year; but was not successful there against William. All these disputes were settled, after William's death, by the arbitration of St. Lewis.

⁷ In the year 1252, the men of the archbishop of Treves fell upon a body of William's crossed soldiers, at Coblenz, and slew many of them. And in the year 1254, Gerard of Mentz would have attacked him, had he not been withheld by the Pope; and the archbishop of Cologne even wanted to burn both him and the Pope's legate, in the palace of Neuss.

to give his sanction, Nov. 1255, to the League of the Rhine against the robber nobles, which now numbered sixty cities, and was headed by the three ecclesiastical electors; and this was almost his only exercise of sovereignty. He perished in a small war with the men of West Friesland. When, as he was on his march, he got upon the ice, near Medenblik, in Holland, Jan. 1256; he was suddenly attacked by a party of them, and slain, while his horse was floundering in a half-frozen swamp which had given way beneath its feet.

Nearly a twelvemonth passed before the electors were called together to choose another king. The Pope had forbidden them to nominate any person belonging to the house of Swabia; and as nearly the whole of the imperial domains had been seized upon piece-meal in the scramble at the end of Frederic's reign, none of the German princes cared for the empty title. A vain Englishman and a scientific Spaniard were foolish enough to bid for it. The English candidate, RICHARD, the well-known earl of Cornwall, was declared to be king of the Romans by the bought votes of several electors, who had been shut out of Frankfort, Jan. 1257; but in the city itself, the archbishop of Treves and his faction at length gave their suffrages, on Palm Sunday (April 1st), to ALFONSO THE WISE, king of Castille and Leon*. Alfonso was never allowed by his

* Grandson of Philip of Swabia, see vol. i. pp. 408, 409, note 2. The archbishop of Treves and *Albert I.*, duke of *Saxony*, got into Frankfort before the time of the election, and shut out the archbishop of Cologne and Lewis the Severe, the count Palatine; pretending to be afraid of their armed followers. These two electors met outside the walls, and, with the proxy of Gerard of Mentz, elected Richard, earl of Cornwall; who had bound himself to ransom the archbishop, then a prisoner in the hands of Albert the Great, duke of Brunswic. In the distribution of the bribes, Lewis the Severe had an additional share as duke of Upper Bavaria. Alfonso's party had the proxies of Brandenburg (at that time under the rule

people to go in search of a phantom sceptre, though he often promised to undertake the expedition; but Richard, with a long train of waggons, laden with the gold which the wealth of his Cornish mines had brought him, entered Aix-la-Chapelle in May, and was crowned with his wife *Sanchia of Provence*, on Ascension Day, by the archbishop of Cologne.

Richard met with respect, only as long as his money lasted. When it was squandered, which was as early as the beginning of the year 1259, he withdrew to England, with only a few followers, to get a fresh supply. Thrice did he afterwards return to Germany. Once, for a few months, in the year 1260. Another time, in the year 1262, when he gave king Ottocar investiture, not only of Bohemia and Moravia, but also of Austria and Styria. And lastly, in the year 1269, when he married *Beatrice of Falkenstein*⁹, and held a great diet, at Worms, in which the princes pledged themselves to destroy the castles of those who illegally took tolls on the Rhine, or troubled the public peace: he then went back to England, where he died at Berkhamstead, April 1271.

Germany had now ceased to be an empire. It was broken up into a number of petty states¹, and the nation was still further weakened by the custom, already become

of the margraves *John I.* and *Otho III.*) and of Bohemia. The king of Bohemia, however, certainly took the part of Richard afterwards; and so did Otho of Brandenburg.

⁹ This third wife of Richard was the cousin of *Engilbert II.*, then archbishop of Cologne.

¹ The immunities of the ecclesiastical princes were recognized in 1220, and those of the secular princes in 1232, by two edicts, in which Frederic II. bound himself not to levy imperial dues, nor to allow palatine judges to intrude, within the limits of their domains. Northern Germany was governed by the code of the *Sachsenspiegel* (Saxon Mirror), and Southern Germany by that of the *Swabenspiegel* (Swabian Mirror).

general in the thirteenth century, of setting aside the claims of the eldest son, and dividing the principalities among all the male children². The hearts of the people, however, still yearned to be united under a common sovereign; the electors, now an exclusive body, were unwilling to lose their rights; and the Pope had strongly urged an injunction to put a German at the head of the Empire. A diet was therefore convened at Frankfort, which ended the interregnum by giving the crown to **RODOLF**, the wise and valiant, but not too powerful count of Habsburg, Oct. 1273.

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SECTION IX.

THE EARLY CAPETIAN KINGS OF FRANCE.

A. D. 987. *Hugh Capet becomes king of France.*

988. The count of Poitiers sets Hugh Capet at defiance.

991. Charles of Lorraine seized by Hugh Capet.

992. Brittany becomes a duchy.

996. Hugh Capet dies.

HUGH CAPET, although set at defiance for a while by the count of Poitiers and other nobles³, seems to have been generally acknowledged as king after he had seized and imprisoned Charles of Lorraine. He united the duchy of France and the counties of Paris and Orleans to the

² In some instances, brothers would govern in common. Compacts were also made by which no part of the divided fief was to escheat so long as any prince of the family remained. In the fifteenth century, the house of Brandenburg returned to the system of primogeniture, an example which was slowly, but universally followed.

³ For the history of the beginning of this reign, see vol. i. pp. 286, 287.

crown; he took his son *Robert* as his associate⁴; and he is said to have more than once checked the turbulence of the great vassals. Yet even with the support of the clergy, he found it no easy matter to play the part of a king. Such feudatories as the dukes of Normandy and the counts of Flanders were more like allies than subjects; and in the provinces south of the Loire, he had very little authority indeed⁵. He died, Oct. 996, at the age of fifty-seven. For some reason best known to himself, he never wore his usurped crown.

This king made Paris his abode. In his reign, *Geoffrey I.*, count of *Rennes* and *Nantes*, assumed the title of duke of *Brittany*⁶.

A. D. 996. *Robert*.

998. Robert, being excommunicated, divorces *Bertha*.

1003, and 1005. Robert invades Burgundy.

1006. Siege of Valenciennes.

1015. Prince Henry created duke of Burgundy.

1017. Hugh, Robert's eldest son, crowned.

1019. Robert visits Rome. Eudes II. gets Champagne.

⁴ Robert was crowned at Orleans, Jan. 988; and again at Rheims, in the year 991. Until the reign of Philip Augustus, the early Capetian kings were fain to secure the crown to their successors in their lifetime.

⁵ When *Adelbert*, count of *Périgord*, in a war with William of Poitiers and *Eudes I.* of *Blois*, styled himself count of Poitiers and Tours; Hugh Capet sent to ask who had made him a count. The answer was, "Who made thee a king?"

⁶ In the beginning of Hugh Capet's reign, Brittany was divided into the counties of Nantes, Rennes, and Cornouailles. About the year 990, the counts of Nantes became extinct, and their dominions were acquired by *Conan the Tort*, count of *Rennes*: who fell, in his second battle at Conquireux with Fulk Nerra, count of Anjou, June 992; and was succeeded by his son, *Geoffrey I.*, a prince who soon made himself paramount in Brittany. *Benedict*, the count of *Cornouailles*, was bishop of Quimper, though a married man; and so was his son after him.

- 1021. Hugh rebels against his father.
- 1023. Conference of Robert and the Emperor Henry II.
- 1025. Death of Hugh.
- 1026. Prince Henry crowned.
- 1030. Rebellion of Robert's sons.
- 1031. Death of king Robert.

ROBERT, who was a meek and pious prince⁷, gladly got rid of his father's only quarrel with the Church, by releasing Arnulf, the captive archbishop of Rheims. He thus hoped to be allowed to keep his wife *Bertha*, the dowager-countess of *Blois*, who was within the wide range of the forbidden degrees⁸: but, to his dismay, Pope Gregory V. decreed, in a council at Rome, in the year 998, that he was to quit his wife; and that they were both of them to do penance for seven years. Although he lay under an excommunication, he still tried to hold out; yet only for a very short time, being ill fitted to carry on such a contest. So he put away *Bertha*, and hastily married *Constance of Thoulouse*⁹, a woman remarkable for her beauty and for her badness of heart.

His uncle Henry, duke of Burgundy, having died childless, Oct. 1002, Robert claimed the fief which had become

⁷ Being musical, as well as devout, Robert would sing in the quire: he also composed some of the Latin hymns of the Romish Church. He gave alms profusely to the poor; and would even let thieves escape who were plundering him, as they were more in want than he was! To save souls from the punishment which awaited perjury, the simple-hearted prince would administer oaths on reliquaries which really contained no relics.

⁸ *Bertha* was daughter of Conrad the Pacific, king of Burgundy, and of *Matilda*, the child of Lewis d'Outremer, by Gerberga, who was a sister of Hugh the Great's wife Hedwiga (see vol. i. p. 278, note 5). Robert had also been godfather to one of her six children. He had married her, in the year 995, very soon after the death of her husband Eudes I. of Blois.

⁹ Daughter of count *William III.*, *Taillefer*, and *Arrinda* of *Anjou*; so that Fulk Nerra was the head of her mother's family.

vacant. He found himself opposed by the adopted stepson of the late duke¹; on which he called in the help of *Richard II. of Normandy*, and twice invaded Burgundy without success. It was not until ten years after his second failure, that he could get possession of the duchy; which was then granted by him, in the year 1015, to his third son *Henry*.

In the year 1006, when *Baldwin IV.*, count of *Flanders*, had surprised Valenciennes, and was besieged in that town by the Emperor Henry II., who had taken up the cause of an injured vassal; Robert joined the camp of the assailants, and gained no glory, as they were beaten off². With the Emperor he was always friendly. Not long before that monarch died, he met him for the last time, Aug. 1023, at Ivoy, on the banks of the Chier; and there a conference took place. Eudes II. of Blois, Bertha's eldest son, who had forced the French king to let him have the succession to the county of Champagne, in the year 1019, and had claims to the reversion of the kingdom of Arles, of which the Emperor had got himself named the heir; was then an object of dread, though as yet his power had been somewhat checked by his feuds with *Fulk Nerra*, the bold and wicked count of *Anjou*³, by whom he was

¹ Otho-William, count of Burgundy, (see p. 47, note 2,) whose mother Gerberga had married Henry. When he gave up the struggle, perhaps foreseeing the chance of a war with the Emperor Henry II., whom Rodolf the Sluggard, the Burgundian king, had named his heir; he made a very advantageous peace.

² The count of Flanders, however, soon afterwards made peace with the Emperor.

³ Fulk Nerra (the Black), who is said to have murdered his first wife, was a thorough ruffian, but a superstitious one. He went thrice to the Holy Land. When, by order of the mad Egyptian caliph Hakem, he was not allowed to visit the Holy Sepulchre unless he defiled it; he hid a bladder filled with white wine about his person, and, by pressing it, deceived the Saracens! At his last pilgrimage,

once signally beaten on the hard-fought field of Pontlevoi, July 1016.

Fulk was a near kinsman and a great ally of Queen Constance. It was he who had sent her the twelve knights by whom, when the king was hunting, *Hugh de Beauvais* was murdered at his feet; the ill-starred favourite having encouraged his master's yearnings after the divorced Bertha⁴. Much trouble did Constance and her children give Robert. In the year 1021, *Hugh*, his eldest son, (who had been anointed king, June 1017, when about ten years old,) wanted to reign in good earnest; and having fled from court, and pillaged the royal domains for a while, was harboured by Eudes II. He was soon forgiven. Three years afterwards, Robert refused for this prince and for himself the offer of the crown of Italy, when the Emperor Henry was dead; being likewise deterred by the energy of Conrad the Salic from recovering for France the kingdom of Lorraine. The death of Hugh, Sept. 1025, was the next untoward event which disturbed his peace. It brought on the evils of a disputed succession: for *Eudes*, the next brother, was too weak-minded to reign; and the queen was for passing also over Henry, whom she hated, and giving the throne to her youngest son *Robert*. After much delay, Henry was crowned at Rheims, on Whitsunday, May 1027⁵, and it seems to have been settled that Robert was to have Burgundy; and so the storm which

he had himself dragged thither half-naked, with a halter round his neck; and his two servants scourged him for his sins, while he cried out, "Lord! spare thy servant Fulk, the traitor, the perjured Fulk!"

⁴ More than a dozen years afterwards, when Robert visited Rome, in the summer of 1019,—on which occasion he offered one of his hymns on the altar of St. Peter's,—it was thought that he still wished to have the divorce annulled.

⁵ Fulk of Anjou and Eudes of Champagne, who had lately been reconciled, were the only great vassals who were present at the election and coronation.

was brooding was lulled for a while. Such, however, was the insolence of Constance, that not only Henry, but even her favourite Robert, were both of them goaded into rebellion, in the year 1030 ; the former seizing his father's castle at Dreux, and the latter taking up arms in Burgundy. King Robert marched thither, and obliged the young duke to sue for peace, while Henry was reconciled by means of *Robert I.*, duke of *Normandy*, who was already renowned as an arbitrator of feuds⁶. His cares were about to end. He died of a fever, at Melun, July 1031, and (like Hugh Capet) was buried at St. Denys.

Robert's reign was a time of progress. The building of several fine churches gave an impulse to art, and the institutions of chivalry began to refine and elevate the character of the higher classes⁷. The iron tyranny which

⁶ Robert I., who had become duke of Normandy on the death of his brother Richard III., whom he was suspected of having poisoned ; had just restored Baldwin of Flanders, and reconciled him to his son Baldwin de Lille by whom he had been driven out. Young Baldwin had been instigated by his haughty wife *Adela*, king Robert's daughter and the widow of Richard III. of Normandy.

⁷ The germ of CHIVALRY may be traced in the old barbarian solemnity of investing the youthful warrior with arms. The *caballarii* (chevaliers or cavaliers) became a distinct order in the time of Charlemagne, the rich alodialists and the better class of feudal tenants being bound to serve on horseback ; and by degrees the sons of the poorer gentry would enter the service of some powerful lord, and share in the honours of the territorial knights, or horsemen. As such men were the most highly trained, their wealthier rivals were at last ashamed, and in fact afraid, to appear either in the hall or in the field as knights until they were fully able to play their part. Gentle youths were therefore sent to the houses of persons of higher rank than their fathers, to be taught manly and martial exercises ; first as *pages* or *varlets*, when between the ages of seven and fourteen, and afterwards as *esquires* (*écuyers*, shield bearers). In the castles of nobles and princes, they learned to be courteous, and to have know-

enthralled soul and body, was no longer borne with the patience of despair; but we now hear of peasants rising

ledge of the world; and thus chivalry was a school of refinement in which the true bearing of a gentleman was acquired. The influence of the fair sex tended much towards this. The respect in which women were held by the Northmen and Germans, had been sustained by the spirit of Christianity; not to speak of the worship of the Virgin Mary, and the honour paid to abbesses as dignitaries of the Church, circumstances which insensibly had immense weight.

The enthusiasm of the Crusades made chivalry religious. The knight was exhorted to do battle for the faith against infidels; to protect the Church; to be the champion of widows and orphans, and of the weak against the oppression of the strong; to be modest, chaste, and courteous. When the esquire was dubbed a knight,—on which occasion, a blow, or a stroke on the neck (*colée*) with a sword, was given him, to remind him of these engagements; just as a lout is now bumped against the parish boundary, that he may not forget it,—he had previously to watch and pray fasting whole nights in a church, and to be purified in a bath; and his sword was blessed by priests. The knightly virtues were loyalty (fidelity to engagements); courteousness; liberality; and gallantry, which word implied both valour and devotion to the fair. But it must be owned that they were too often alloyed by laxity of morals, even the marriage-vow being broken; and by an insolent contempt for all who were not priests or gentlemen. Emulation was kept up by the well-rewarded praises of minstrels; by the smiles of the ladies, whose favours were proudly worn in the hottest fray; and by tournaments and jousts, in which displays of skill and prowess, the weapons were usually of a less deadly kind, and the fierceness of the knights was restrained by rules said to have been devised, in the middle of the eleventh century, by *Godfrey of Preuilly*. Originally, any knight might confer the order, and not sovereigns alone; and whoever was knighted in any country had his rank and privileges allowed him throughout all Christendom. The gilded spurs and the colour of scarlet were the badges of knighthood; the hacking off of the spurs with a cleaver being also the ceremony by which the recreant was degraded.—Of course, the invention of gunpowder and the progress of military science lessened the importance of the horsemen armed at all points, and chivalry fell into decay. (For the distinction between a knight
 'lor and knight banneret, see First Series, p. 181, note 7.)

against their lords ⁸, and of the growth of startling heresies which betokened an honest, but misguided, zeal to do away with the superstitions and abuses of the Church ⁹.

A.D. 1031. *Henry I.*—War with Robert.

1032 Robert confirmed as duke of Burgundy. Constance dies.

1033. Conrad the Salic crowned king of Arles.

1034. Eudes II. makes peace with Robert.

1035. Death of Robert of Normandy.

1037. Eudes II. slain.

1041. Geoffrey Martel defeats the counts of Champagne and Blois. Eudes imprisoned.

1047. Battle of Val des Dunes.

1051. Henry marries Anne of Russia.

1053. War with Normandy. Siege of Arques.

1054. Battle of Mortemer.

1055. County of Sens annexed.

1058. Last irruption into Normandy.

1059. Peace with Normandy. Philip crowned.

1060. Death of Henry I.

HENRY I., who was about twenty years of age when he began to reign, was quickly driven from his throne by Constance; Eudes of Champagne, Fulk Nerra, and the count of Flanders having joined with her in upholding the pretensions of prince Robert. He fled to the court of

⁸ In the year of Robert's accession, there was a revolt of the peasants throughout Normandy. They had meetings in which they chose delegates for a general assembly; but when it was held, it was dispersed by an armed force sent out by duke Richard II. The delegates who were seized, had their hands and feet cut off, and the rest of the peasants were frightened into submission.

⁹ At a council at Orleans, in the year 1022, two priests and eleven of their followers were convicted of Manicheism, having been denounced by Richard II., duke of Normandy. King Robert ordered them to be burnt alive, and was well seconded by his wife Constance; who with a stick beat out one of the eyes of *Stephen*, her former confessor, as he was walking to his doom at the head of the victims.

Robert, duke of Normandy ; who lent him a body of good troops¹, with which he returned, and so gained ground upon his foes, that Constance, by Fulk's advice, gave in. Shortly after she had come to terms, her restless life ended, July 1032. Her darling Robert had been confirmed in his duchy, and was the founder of that First Capetian House of Burgundy, from the younger branch of which all the royal dynasties of Portugal were offshoots². In the

¹ For this service, Robert had the feudal superiority over the French Vexin. (The rest of the Vexin, of which Rouen was the chief town, was Norman.) After Robert's death, its count, who was vassal and advocate of the abbey of St. Denys, returned to the allegiance of France.

² ROBERT, *the Old*, duke of Burgundy, was succeeded, in the year 1075, by HUGH I., the eldest of the children of his deceased son Henry. As early as the year 1078, the devout Hugh, having lost his wife, withdrew into the monastery of Clugny (of which his great uncle St. Hugh was abbot) and gave up the duchy to his brother, the robber duke, EUDES I., *Borel*; who fought in Spain against the Moors, and died in Palestine, whither he had gone to aid the Crusaders (A.D. 1102). Henry, the youngest brother, remained in Spain, in the service of the king of Castille : *he was created count of Portugal, and became the father of Alfonso Henry, the first king of Portugal*. Eudes' great-grandson, HUGH III., who died in the beginning of the year 1193, had, besides his successor, EUDES III., and Alexander (founder of the house of Montaign, of which the two younger branches were Sombernon, the heiress of which married into the family of Villars, and Couches, extinct in 1470), another son, named Andrew; who, in right of his mother Beatrice, was dauphin of Vienna, and whose male line ended in his grandson John, Oct. 1281. EUDES III. was the grandfather of ROBERT II. : who died in the year 1305, and was succeeded by his eldest son, HUGH V. ; after whom came his second son, EUDES IV., in the year 1315. Eudes IV. married Jane of France, the daughter of Philip the Long and Jane of Artois ; and when his wife's mother died, Jan. 1330, he got the counties of Artois and Burgundy : his son Philip, who died before him, was the father of PHILIP de Rouvre, the last duke of the first house and the youthful husband of Margaret, heiress of Flanders. On the death of Philip de Rouvre, Nov. 1361, the duchy of Bur-

year 1034, Eudes likewise agreed to make peace¹. He was still endeavouring to dispute the crown of Arles with Conrad the Salic, who had lately overrun Champagne and had thus forced him to renounce his claims; and when that emperor offended the Milanese by arresting archbishop Eribert, he closed in with their offer of the kingdom of Italy, and lost his life while invading Lorraine, Nov. 1037. As his dominions were divided between his sons,—*Theobald* being count of *Blois*, and *Stephen*, of *Champagne*,—the dangerous power of a rising family was greatly weakened.

Henry's reign had inauspiciously opened with three years of frightful famine, during which several persons were burnt alive for eating human flesh in the rage of their hunger. Somewhat later, a new disease started up, a sort of contagious wild-fire, which continued its ravages for nearly two centuries. The sufferings of the times so far softened men's hearts, that several councils were held in the year 1035, in which it was resolved to put an end to feuds by proclaiming the "Peace of God;" which being too stringent a measure, was ill kept, and was therefore

gundy was claimed by Charles the Bad, king of Navarre, whose grandmother Margaret, the queen of Lewis the Hutin, was the second daughter of duke Robert II.; but JOHN II. of France, the son of Jane, the third daughter, seized it, on the plea that he was one degree nearer in descent to the common ancestor, and gave it to his youngest son PHILIP the Bold. Artois and the county of Burgundy then fell into the possession of Margaret, the dowager countess of *Flanders*; who was the younger daughter of Philip the Long and Jane of Artois, and also the grandmother of duke Philip's widow, by whom they were eventually inherited.

¹ He gave up to the king the half of the city of Sens with which Constance had purchased his aid. The county of Sens was afterwards annexed to the crown, in the year 1055, on the death of the irreligious count *Reginald II.*, called "the King of the Jews," whom Eudes had formerly restored, when king Robert had driven him out (A.D. 1015).

wisely modified, six years afterwards, when the "Truce of God" was established⁴. The vain, weak king would not hear of it in his own dominions.

Besides Eudes of Champagne, two of the most powerful vassals in France were now no longer among the living. Robert, duke of Normandy, had died in the Holy Land, July 1035, having gone thither on a pilgrimage to atone for his sins; and the grim old ruffian, Fulk Nerra, when just returned from his last journey to the East, June 1040, was called away from this world. Both of these warriors had sons who were worthy of them. The child of Robert—*William the Bastard*, the future conqueror of England—was left in early boyhood with a doubtful tide; and it was not until the year 1047, when, with Henry's aid, he overcame his kinsman and vassal *Guy*, count of *Brionne*, at the Val des Dunes, that he could quell the haughty barons who at last had risen, almost to a man, against him⁵. That struggle was often renewed; but the rebels had always to yield to the iron will of their fierce ruler⁶. *Geoffrey Martel*, Fulk's undutiful

⁴ In some of the provinces, officers of peace were appointed.

⁵ William had at first a steady friend in his guardian *Alan*, duke of *Brittany*, who had become his father's vassal. That duke is thought to have been poisoned by the Normans, Oct. 1040; and, after his death, the barons, regardless of the oaths which they had taken at Robert's bidding, had very much their own way, until William became older and displayed an energy which alarmed them. *Guy*, count of *Brionne*, whose claims they supported, was a younger son of *Alice* (or *Judith*), the daughter of Duke *Richard II.* and the wife of *Reginald*, count of *Burgundy* (*Otho*-William's successor). When beaten in the field, he was besieged in one of his castles, and forced by hunger to give up his Norman county.

⁶ He was fierce indeed. When he surprised *Alençon*, during a war with *Geoffrey Martel*, he cut off the hands and feet of thirty-six of the garrison, because he had been called a bastard, and skins had been beaten to remind him of his mother's father the "Tanner."

heir¹, had, as count of Vendôme, already distinguished himself on the bloody field of St. Jouin, near Moncontour, where *William the Fat*, count of *Poitiers*, and duke of *Aquitaine*, became his captive, Sept. 1034 : he now did king Henry good service, when, in the year 1041, the sons of Eudes of Champagne refused to do homage, and wanted to place the crown on the head of the half-witted Eudes of France. In this war, Henry got Eudes into his power and shut him up for a while in a keep at Orleans, *Rodolf*, count of *Valois*, a leader of the rebels, meeting with a similar fate ; and Geoffrey, after besieging Tours for a twelvemonth, gained one of his brilliant victories, at Noet, Aug. 1042, Stephen II., count of Champagne being put to flight, and his brother Theobald III., count of Blois, taken prisoner. The latter had to yield up Tours as his ransom. Six years later, Geoffrey attacked William of Normandy : but though Domfront and Alençon were betrayed to him, he quickly lost them, and the whole enterprise miscarried.

Henry I. had been affianced to *Matilda*, the daughter of Conrad the Salic ; and, after her death, he seems to have married another *Matilda*, the niece of the Emperor Henry III.² When she also died, leaving him childless,

When he heard that *Matilda of Flanders* (Baldwin de Lille's daughter, by whom he had been refused) had said that she would never marry a bastard ; he rode to Lille, and revenged himself on the young lady by dragging her along the ground, and trampling her under foot. Soon after this, he got her to be his wife !

¹ Geoffrey Martel was always rebelling against his father. In the year 1036, he had been obliged to crawl some miles with a saddle on his back, to ask the old man's pardon. He was then count of Vendôme, which had been given him by his half-sister *Adda* (whose unhappy mother was the first wife of Fulk) ; but in the year 1050, he allowed her disinherited son, *Fulk L'Oison*, to have it.

² The first Matilda died unmarried at Worms, in the year 1034. The second died in France, in the year 1044, a few months after her

he thought of seeking the blessing of heaven by choosing a bride to whom he could not possibly be akin. Accordingly, in the year 1051, he wedded a Russian princess, *Anne*, the daughter of the czar *Jaroslaus*; and thus became the father of three sons, *Philip*, *Robert*, and *Hugh*², the eldest of whom was crowned at Rheims, on Whitsunday, May 1059, when about six years old.

When Godfrey the Bearded had formed a league against the Emperor, in the year 1047¹, Henry kept aloof, although tempted by an offer of the crown of Lorrain. But the king's pride was at last hurt, when the Germans ravaged the territories of his vassal, the count of Flanders; so much so, that at a conference at Ivoy (A.D. 1056), he bitterly reproached Henry III., and even put forth his right to have Lorrain. After all this bluster, his heart failed him, and he sneaked away during the night. Hardly less inglorious were his wars with William of Normandy, whom he had begun to look upon with jealous fear². *William*, count of *Arques*, the duke's rebel uncle, was but

only daughter, who was not yet five years old. The whole of Henry's private history is very obscure; and various dates, ranging from 1032 to 1051, are given for his last marriage.

¹ Robert died young; but *HUGH the Great* so well known as a leader of the First Crusade, became count of Vermandais and Valois, in the year 1080; his wife *ADELAIDE* being the heiress of her father, *Heribert IV.*, count of *Vermandais*, and (after the death of his brother-in-law *Simon*) of *Valois*, her brother *Eudes* having been disinherited. *RODOLF II.*, the grandson of the Great Count, died a leper, in the year 1167, and was succeeded by his sister *ISABELLA*, the first wife of Philip of Alsatia, count of Flanders. That lady also died childless, March, 1183; on which *ELEANOR*, her youngest sister (whose fourth husband was *Matthew*, count of *Beaumont*), claimed his fiefs. She was content, however, to give them up to Philip Augustus, on condition of being allowed to have Valois for life.

² For an account of Godfrey's rebellions, see pp. 17, 18.

² Yet William was now his nephew by marriage, Matilda of Flanders being the daughter of Adela of France.

feebly supported, when he stood a siege in his castle, which he had recovered by means of French gold ; and the next year, Feb. 1054, Henry, who actually took the field with Geoffrey Martel, retreated without striking a blow, having heard that an army, of which his poor brother Eudes had the nominal command, had been surprised and routed, at Mortemer, by *Robert*, count of *Eu*. At the end of four years of inactivity, he was egged on by Geoffrey Martel to make another irruption into Normandy ; but as he was returning, half his men were cut off in an ambuscade. Nothing more was done : for when he was about to have his son crowned, he thought it best to be at peace with the most powerful of his vassals. The second summer after the treaty was concluded, Henry I. sickened and died, Aug. 1060^a.

A.D. 1060. *Philip I.* Baldwin de Lille regent. Geoffrey Martel dies.

1062. The queen-dowager marries the count of Valois.

1063. William of Normandy conquers Maine.

1066. *The Normans conquer England.*

1067. Death of Baldwin de Lille.

1068. Fulk IV. sole count of Anjou ; the Gatinais annexed.

1070—1072. War with Robert the Frisian.

1075. Philip quarrels with William the Conqueror.

1077. The French Vexin annexed.

1087. William the Conqueror burns Mantes.

1088. Raymond of St. Gilles becomes count of Thoulouse.

1092. Philip marries Bertrada and puts away Bertha.

1094. Councils of Rheims and Autun.

1095. *Council of Clermont* ; the Pope excommunicates Philip.

1097. Philip absolved. War with William Rufus.

1099. Prince Lewis associated as king.

1100. Council of Poitiers. Purchase of Bourges.

^a The summer being very hot, the sick king chose to drink, though forbidden by his physician on account of some medicine which he had taken.

A.D. 1101. Hélie de la Flèche returns to Maine. Activity of Lewis.

1102. Bertrada plots against Lewis.

1104. Philip finally absolved. Montlhéry annexed.

1106. Geoffrey of Anjou killed. Philip visits Fulk.—Battle of Tenchebray.

1107. Council of Troyes. War with Guy of Rochefort.

1108. Death of Philip I.

PHILIP I., in the beginning of his reign, was left under the care of his father's brother-in-law, the count of Flanders⁴;

⁴ The counts of Flanders were descended from BALDWIN I., *Bras de Fer*; who, in the year 862, carried off Judith, the widow of Ethelwolf of England and afterwards the incestuous bride of Ethelbald, and was allowed by her father, Charles the Bald, to marry her, being also confirmed as count. BALDWIN (V.) *de Lille's* son, BALDWIN VI., *de Mons* (the second husband of Richilda, the heiress of Rainier V., count of *Hainault*), united Hainault to Flanders for a while; but when he died, July 1070, his eldest child, ARNULF III., had Flanders, and Hainault was secured to BALDWIN, his younger son. Arnulf III. fell in the battle of Bavinchoven, Feb. 1071, and Flanders was seized by his uncle, ROBERT I., *the Frisian*, the brother of Baldwin de Mons. On the death of Robert's grandson BALDWIN VII., June 1119, it was bequeathed to CHARLES I. of Denmark, the child of Robert's daughter *Adela* and her first husband, the murdered Canute IV.; and when Charles was slain in a church at Bruges, March 1127, it was granted by the king of France to WILLIAM CLITO, duke Robert of Normandy's son, in right of his descent from Matilda of Flanders. William's harshness, and the active enmity of Henry I. of England, caused his claims to be disputed; so, while he was besieging one of his rivals at Alost, he was mortally wounded, July 1128. A new dynasty was then founded by that rival, DIEDRICH (or Thierry) of *Alsatia*; whose father, Diedrich II., duke of Lorrain, the son of Gerard of Alsatia, had married, as his second wife, *Gertrude*, the younger daughter of Robert the Frisian. PHILIP of *Alsatia*, count Diedrich's son, died of the plague at Acre, June 1191; and was succeeded by his sister MARGARET, countess of *Hainault*, and her husband BALDWIN. Their son, BALDWIN IX., afterwards Latin emperor of Constantinople, inherited Flanders from his mother, Nov. 1194, and Hainault from his father, Dec. 1195; and on his death, in the year 1206, these

at whose death, Sept. 1067, he was allowed to govern alone, when hardly fourteen. The chief events, while Baldwin de Lille had the wardship of his nephew, were the death of Geoffrey Martel, Nov. 1060; the marriage of the widowed queen Anne to Rodolf, count of Valois, in the year 1062^s; the reduction of the county of Maine by

possessions passed to his elder daughter, JANE. She became the wife of FERRAND (Ferdinand), a son of Sancho I. of Portugal,—it was he who was taken prisoner at Bouvines,—and also of THOMAS of Savoy, a son of Thomas, count of Savoy and maternal uncle of the queen of St. Lewis. As she died childless, Dec. 1244, her widowed sister, MARGARET II., ruled in her stead.

The reign of Margaret was remarkable for the feuds between the D'Avesnes and the Dampierres, the children of her two marriages. (See also p. 129, note 6.) It was twice settled by St. Lewis that the former should be heirs of Hainault, and the latter of Flanders; and, accordingly, when she died, Feb. 1280, GUY of Dampierre was left master of Flanders. This count, who was treacherously imprisoned by Philip the Fair, was the father of ROBERT III. *de Béthune*; whose second wife was *Violante*, heiress of *Nevers* and widow of *John Tristan* of France (St. Lewis's son). Robert died at the age of eighty-two, Sept. 1322; and after him came his grandson LEWIS I., count of *Nevers*, and his great-grandson, LEWIS II., *de Male*, the latter of whom died in January 1384, and was succeeded by his daughter MARGARET and her second husband, PHILIP the Bold, duke of Burgundy. Flanders subsequently became, for a long time, part of the dominions of the house of Austria, and the battle-field of European warfare.

In the Middle Ages, the spirit of freedom was strong in Flanders. Communities and corporations were of an early date in a country where the inhabitants had often to combine to form a *polder* (land protected by dikes from inundation), and the lords found it their interest to encourage trade by granting privileges to the towns. Its cloth and other manufactures, its agricultural skill, its traffic and industry, raised it to a wonderful height of prosperity, which even the outbreaks of its turbulent population seemed hardly to disturb.

^s Rodolf, whose first wife had been put away, was now excommunicated. After his death, Sept. 1074, Anne went to Russia; but soon returned.

William of Normandy⁶; and his ever memorable expedition, Sept. 1066, which ended in the conquest of England.

Philip was not a youth to be left to his own guidance at so early an age. He grew up to be lazy and vicious; and at the end of his life, he was a fat, bloated sensualist.

⁶ The county of Maine, in the early part of this century, during the struggles of HERIBERT I., *Evêille-Chien*, with Fulk Nerra, had become a fief of Anjou. Heribert's grandson HERIBERT II. bequeathed it to the Norman house, in the year 1062, his young daughter (or sister) *Margaret* being contracted to William's son Robert. Though the people declared themselves for WALTER, count of the Vexin, whose wife *Biote* was the second daughter of Heribert I., William seized the county; and he poisoned Walter and his wife while he was in treaty with them at Falaise. That same year, Margaret died unmarried, Dec. 1063; yet the Norman duke kept Maine, which, as long as he lived, was never able to shake off his yoke. It revolted, indeed, about the year 1070, in favour of young HUGH of *Este*, the son of Albert-Azzo by his second wife Gersenda (the divorced spouse of Theobald III., count of Blois, and the eldest daughter of Heribert I.); but William recovered his authority when the city of Le Mans capitulated, in the year 1073. Owing to the exactions of *Geoffrey de Mayenne*, who had been entrusted by Albert-Azzo with the charge of Hugh, the citizens of that place had formed themselves into a community, the earliest instance known in France. Hugh returned once more, in the year 1090, when the Conqueror's son Robert was duke of Normandy; but being weak and tyrannical, and therefore despised, he quickly sold his claims to his cousin HÉLIE of *Baugency*, the lord of *La Flèche*, whose grandmother *Paula* was the third daughter of Heribert I. Hélié de la Flèche, in the year 1098, stood out bravely against William Rufus, to whom Normandy and Maine were mortgaged; and though he was taken prisoner and lost every thing but a few castles, he never ceased to give trouble to his adversary, and soon regained the country on the tidings of his death (Aug. 1100). He also fought valiantly for Henry of England against duke Robert, at Tenchebray. When he died, July 1110, Maine was inherited by his son-in-law and liege lord, FULK V., count of Anjou; whose first wife was his only daughter GUIBURGA (also called Ermentruda and Erembruga).

As he wanted money for his pleasures, he sold bishoprics and abbeys as much as he dared; for which the Pope would often sharply call him to account, not sparing the prelates who had been guilty of simony, many of whom were deposed. Happily for him, William of Normandy was too busy in England to give him much trouble; yet the weak king felt a jealous fear of the power which had overshadowed his own, and thus he began, in the year 1075, to show his spite whenever he could find an opportunity. He sent help to the rebel vassals in Normandy and Brittany; he abetted *Robert*, the eldest son of his rival, in his wars against his father; and at last, when the incursions of the lawless people of Mantes had been complained of in vain, he, by a silly joke⁷, drew down upon himself an onslaught in which the offending town was burnt to the ground, July 1087. But for the accident which then befel the Norman hero, and his death six weeks afterwards, Paris would perhaps have been a heap of ashes.

Notwithstanding Philip's sluggishness, the domains of the crown were somewhat widened under his rule. In the year 1068, Geoffrey Martel's nephew, **FULK IV.** (*le Réchin*), count of *Anjou*⁸, yielded up to him the *Gatinais*

⁷ Having heard that William was ill in bed, and taking medicine to keep down his fat, he inquired whether the big-bellied king was "lying in!" William swore that when he was churched at Paris, he would come with ten thousand lances for tapers, and set every thing in a blaze.

⁸ Geoffrey Martel having died childless, Nov. 1060,—he became a monk, the night before he passed,—by his will, his fiefs of Touraine and Anjou (with Saintonge) were divided between **GEOFFREY IV.**, *the Bearded*, and **FULK IV.**, *le Réchin* (the Quarrelsome), the sons of his sister *Ermengarda* and her husband the count of the *Gatinais*. For eight years, the two brothers were constantly at feud; after which Geoffrey was vanquished, and was shut up for nearly thirty years in the castle of Chinon. Fulk was at least four times married.

as the price of his neutrality when he overthrew his brother and co-heir *Geoffrey IV.* The French Vexin was also annexed, after *Simon*, count of *Valois*, had retired from the world into a cloister (A.D. 1077); the county of *Valois* being inherited by the house of *Vermandais*, the heiress of which was married to *Hugh*, the king's brother. Moreover, at the close of the century, *Eudes Arpin*, the viscount of *Bourges*, a crusader who eventually died a monk at *Clugny*, sold his fief that he might go to the Holy Land.

As a warrior, Philip got nothing but disgrace. When he took up arms in behalf of *Richilda* of *Hainault* and of her son *Arnulf III.*, count of *Flanders*, against the enterprising *Robert the Frisian*, who had seized upon his youthful nephew's dominions⁹; he fled ingloriously at

His second and third wives he divorced; his fourth was the notorious *Bertrada* of *Montfort*. By his second wife, *Ermengarda* of *Bourbon*, he had *Geoffrey IV.*, surnamed *Martel*, who became his colleague, but died before him, May 1106; and by *Bertrada*, he was the father of *Fulk V.* *Fulk the Réchin* is said to have had mis-shapen feet, and to have invented the prodigious long shoes which, in spite of all the sermons of the clergy, were in fashion for at least two centuries. Princes wore them a yard long, with the point turned up and attached to the knee by a chain. *Fulk V.*, the Young, acquired *Maine* by his marriage with the heiress of *Hélie de la Flèche*; and died king of *Jerusalem* in right of his second wife *Melesinda*. The second time that he set out for the Holy Land (A.D. 1129), he gave up *Anjou* and *Maine* to his son *Geoffrey V.*, the Fair, better known as *PLANTAGENET*, from the sprig of broom-plant which he wore on his cap. *Geoffrey Plantagenet* was the husband of the widowed Empress *Matilda*, the daughter of the Anglo-Norman *Henry I.*; and when he died, Sept. 1151, he was succeeded by his son *Henry II.*, afterwards the first *Plantagenet*, king of *England*. In the beginning of the next century, when king *John* had murdered his nephew *Arthur*, *Anjou*, *Touraine*, and *Maine* were among the fiefs adjudged by *Philip Augustus* to be forfeited.

⁹ *Robert the Frisian* was the son of *Baldwin de Lille*, count of *Flanders*, by whom he was furnished with ships and money, and

Bavinchoven, near Cassel, where Richilda's partisans were routed, and Arnulf, with his gallant step-father, *William Fitz-Osborne*, was slain, Feb. 1071. The next month, indeed, he managed to surprise the town of St. Omers, and sacked it; but his foes having made him believe that he was betrayed, he at once hastened home in a dreadful fright. And in a petty war, about seven years afterwards, while he was besieging *Huon*, the lord of the small castle of *Puisset*, his men were scattered by a sudden sally, and he ran away as far as Orleans. From henceforth, he seems to have been sickened of fighting.

When the worthless king made peace with Robert the Frisian, in the year 1072, he agreed to marry Bertha of Holland, the count's step-daughter. She bore him four children; but he grew tired of her, and at length sent her away to the castle of Montreuil. It was not, however, his

sent out to seek his fortune. His early attempts against the Spanish Moors, and his schemes of conquest in Greece, with the aid of the Italian Normans, were failures: but in the year 1062, he invaded Holland and Friesland, where the widow of count *Florence I.* governed in behalf of her son *Diedrich V.*; and though he was beaten again and again, was so formidable a foe, that the countess *Gertrude* thought it best to marry him, and to give up to him the regency. After his brother Baldwin VI., count of Flanders, was dead (July 1070), he claimed the guardianship of his children and the regency of Flanders; on which the countess-dowager Richilda, who was hated for her tyranny, sought the help of France and of Normandy for herself and her son Arnulf, and married William Fitz-Osborne, earl of Hereford, the most renowned of William the Conqueror's captains. Though Robert had the ill luck to be taken at Bavinchoven, his victorious followers got him exchanged for Richilda; who afterwards found new allies in *Theodwin*, bishop of *Liege*, and Godfrey le Bossu, duke of Lower Lorraine, the latter of whom laid Holland and Friesland waste, for which he was in the end requited by the knife of an assassin (Feb. 1076). Richilda's younger son Baldwin never could get Flanders; but when peace was made, he was left in possession of his mother's county of Hainault.

intention to live single¹. Without waiting for her death, he got a corrupt prelate to bless his union with *Bertrada of Montfort*, the beautiful countess of *Anjou*²; who had eloped to follow him when he left Tours, where he had been on a visit to her husband Fulk the Réchin, June 1092. By this wickedness, he was drawn into feuds, not only with Fulk (who hardly deserved to be pitied, as he had already divorced two wives), but also with the count of Flanders, Bertha's kinsman, and with the clergy and the Pope. He tried, when Bertha was dead, to settle his quarrel with the Church by a council which was held at Rheims by the bishops of his party, Sept. 1094; but the archbishop of *Lyons* spoilt the scheme by calling together a much larger council at Autun, a month later, in which the adulterous king and queen were openly excommunicated. This anathema was renewed, Nov. 1095, by Pope Urban II., at the great council of Clermont, where the First Crusade was undertaken and the Truce of God was ratified; yet it neither touched the heart nor changed the life of Philip, though, with all the cunning of a base soul, he sought, by a show of outward submission, to stave off the evils which it threatened to bring upon him³. Once

¹ Without even trying to get a divorce, he had sought the hand of *Emma*, daughter of Roger, count of Sicily. Her father gladly listened to the offer, and sent her with a large dowry to the court of his son-in-law Raymond IV., count of Thoulouse; who, however, married her to the count of *Clermont d'Auvergne*.—Raymond meant to keep part of her money; but the cunning Sicilian admiral who had brought her, sailed home with it.

² Ivo, bishop of Chartres, and other French prelates had refused. It would seem that the bishop of *Senlis* performed the ceremony, and not the archbishop of *Rouen*, or the notorious *Odo of Bayeux*; yet these last may have been present.—The bishop of Chartres was for some time imprisoned.

³ He did not wear his crown, but with the Pope's leave; who would allow no chanting and no ringing of bells in any town where

he put away Bertrada (Jan. 1097), and was then absolved. As she returned when he had gained his end, he was, after a while, again excommunicated at the council of Poitiers, Nov. 1100⁴. At last, when the guilty pair had solemnly sworn to part for ever,—an oath which was never kept,—Philip was absolved afresh in a council at Paris, Dec. 1104, and had his own way for the rest of his life.

Not long afterwards, Bertrada had the art to persuade her new and her old husband to be friends. She even went with Philip on a visit to Fulk; who gave them a splendid welcome at Angers, Sept. 1106, and was often to be seen sitting on a stool at her feet, though she was thought to have had a hand in the murder of his eldest son *Geoffrey*, only a few months before, to make room for a younger brother who was her own child. As she likewise wanted the offspring of her second marriage to have the crown of France, she had plotted against the life of her new step-son, prince *Lewis*⁵; but the king was indeed so

the king abode, though he would let him hear low mass in his chapel.

⁴ On this occasion, *William IX.*, duke of *Aquitaine* and count of *Poitiers*, said that he would not allow his sovereign to be excommunicated: but though he stirred up a riot in which blood was shed, several of the bishops stood firm and carried their point. This poet and crusader had a fellow-feeling for the king, his own life being even more irregular.—Besides putting away his wife *Hermangarda* of *Anjou*, the *Réchin's* daughter, and afterwards marrying *Philippa* of *Thoulouse*, the dowager-queen of *Arragon*; he carried off the viscount of *Châtellerauli's* wife to be his mistress, and built at *Niort* a sort of convent for his women, the most shameless of whom he promoted to be the abbess, prioress, portress, &c.

⁵ She had begun by sending a letter with her husband's seal upon it to *Henry I.* of *England*, begging him to imprison for life the young prince, who was then at his court. *Lewis* returned home and sought an opportunity to stab *Bertrada*; who, on her side, had recourse to witchcraft and to poison, the latter of which, although baffled by antidotes, caused her step-son to be deadly pale for the rest of his days.—

troubled by the feud in his own house, that at last he had insisted that they should be at peace.

About the last year of the eleventh century, Philip, being in bad health, and dreading lest his rule should be shaken by his quarrel with the Church, had caused that son to be crowned as his colleague. The first Capetian who as yet had been trained to arms as a knight, Lewis, though under the age of twenty, had already distinguished himself: for with hardly three hundred horse, he had kept *William Rufus* in check, when that redoubted king, to whom Normandy had been mortgaged by his brother Robert, was endeavouring to conquer the French Vexin. Entrusted with the chief power, he wielded it against *Burchard of Montmorency* and the barons of the Isle of France, owing to whose robberies even the highways near Paris were unsafe; and standing forth as the champion of the convents and churches which had suffered from them⁶, he attacked them one by one in their castles, and effectually bridled their insolence. His half-brother *Philip* was created count of *Mantes*, and married to *Elizabeth*, the heiress of the restless *Guy Truxel*, lord of *Monilhéry*, a stronghold which commanded the road from Orleans to the capital; while, to gain two other castles, he himself plighted his troth to the child of that man's uncle, *Luciana*, the daughter of the gallant crusader *Guy the Red*, count of *Rocheport*. This contract being annulled, three years afterwards, by Pope Paschal II., at the council of Troyes, May 1107⁷; Guy of Rocheport and his friends waged a

Philip gave up the French Vexin to Lewis, as the price of the reconciliation (A.D. 1104).

⁶ They would quarter themselves and their retainers in the houses of churchmen, and levy exactions in money and in kind from their peasants as the price of their protection.

⁷ The pretext was nearness of kin. Lewis had, perhaps, begun to think the marriage beneath him.

war with Lewis, in which they were foiled by his wonted activity. Then followed the death of king Philip; who was old before his time, and much weakened of late, both in mind and body, by disease: he died at Melun, July 1108, in the garb of a Benedictine monk; and to show his sorrow for his sins, he would not be buried among the kings of France, in the church and near the body of so holy a martyr as St. Denys.

In the days of Philip, the War of Investitures had so crippled the Empire, that in the kingdom of Arles its French vassals easily threw off its yoke: the kingdom of Lorraine was still faithful to it; that of Burgundy was torn with strife. But the union, so dangerous to France, of Normandy with England, although broken for a while after William the Conqueror died, was drawn yet closer when king Henry I. overcame Robert Courthose at Tenchebray, Sept. 1106; and in the South, the royal authority was quite overshadowed by the might of *Raymond of St. Gilles*, the lord of half of Provence by marriage, who, in the year 1088, also became count of *Thoulouse*^a. Had not the Crusades drained much of its

^a The county of Thoulouse was given by Charles the Bald, in the year 850, to FREDELON, count of *Rouergue*; who was succeeded in his fiefs, two years afterwards, by his brother RAYMOND I., the ancestor of the great southern dynasty which ruled in Languedoc. After this Raymond, came his sons; first BERNARD, and then Eudes: the latter died about the year 918, and his domains were divided between his two children; RAYMOND II. being count of Thoulouse, and *Ermengold*, count of Rouergue. These two brothers also governed the counties of Quercy and the Albigeois in common, as well as the marquisate of Septimania proper, or Gothia, of which Narbonne was the capital. This was a province which had been separated from the Spanish March and Barcelona by Charles the Bald; and in the year 878, had been granted by Lewis the Stammerer to *Bernard Plantevelue* (*Planta-pilosa*), count of *Auvergne*: it

strength, the house of Thoulouse might have founded a great kingdom in Provence and Languedoc : as it was, it would hardly stoop to pay homage to the Capetians.

was transferred to the house of Thoulouse after the decease of Bernard's son, William the Pious (July 918).—As for William's other fiefs, Auvergne and the duchy of Aquitaine (see vol. i. p. 269, note 3), they were successively inherited by his sister's children, *William the Young* and *Acfred*; after which they were granted, in the year 928, to Ebles, count of Poitiers. (See also vol. i. p. 267, note 9.)

Raymond II. of Thoulouse was succeeded by his valiant son RAYMOND-PONTIUS III., the vanquisher of the Hungarians; who, after the death of Ebles, received from king Rodolf the investiture of Aquitaine and Auvergne, acquisitions which were lost on his decease, in the year 950, and passed into the hands of William d'Etoupes, count of Poitiers. (See vol. i. p. 280, note 9.) Raymond-Pontius' eldest son WILLIAM III., *Taillefer*, seems, however, to have recovered Auvergne, in the year 963 :—at all events, in the year 979, he bestowed it as a sub-fief upon *Guy I.*, its viscount, the first of a new line of counts of Auvergne. By him also, in the year 975, the treaty was made with *Raymond III.*, of *Rouergue*, Ermengald's grandson, by which the branch of Rouergue was to have the whole of Septimania and most of the county of Nismes; and the rest of that county (which was the district of St. Gilles), with the counties of Quercy and the Albigeois, was to be the share of the elder house. William Taillefer, who was the father of the termagant queen Constance (see p. 134, note 9), died at the age of ninety, Sept. 1037; and was succeeded by PONTIUS, the son of his second wife *Emma*, the daughter of *Rotbold*, count of *Provence*. To the titles of his family, Pontius added that of Count Palatine. On his death (in the year 1060), WILLIAM IV., his first-born, had almost all his possessions: but in the year 1088, that count, having lost his sons, sold his lordships to his younger brother the count of St. Gilles; and four years afterwards, he went to the Holy Land and died there. He was the father of Philippa, then duchess of Aquitaine (see p. 153, note 4); whose first husband was Sancho Ramirez, king of Arragon.

Even before he bought his brother's fiefs, the power of RAYMOND IV., of *St. Gilles*, was already very great. On the death, in the

A.D. 1108. *Lewis the Fat.*

1109. Philip of Mantes deprived. War with England.

1111. Count Robert II. of Flanders slain.

year 1066, of the countess *Bertha*, the last of the house of Rouergue (and the childless wife of *Robert*, count of *Auvergne*), he had acquired the county of Rouergue, the duchy of Septimania, and the other domains which her husband had held in her right; and having once married a daughter of *Bertrand I.*, one of the joint-counts of *Provence*, and being also the grandson of count *Rothold's* child *Emma*, whose deceased brother had no issue, he had seized, in the year 1085, upon Upper Provence. What was eventually called the marquisate of Provence, included all the inland portion of that country between the Rhône, the Isère, the Alps, and the Durance; so that while his late wife was living, he had thought it worth his while not to put her away, although twice excommunicated by *Hildebrand* for being married to a cousin. He set out on the First Crusade, Oct. 1096; and, like his elder brother, he died in the Holy Land, Feb. 1105. *BERTRAND*, his son by his first wife, had been left behind at Thoulouse, whence for two years, dating from 1098, he was driven out by *William IX.* of Aquitaine, *Philippa's* husband: he too went to Palestine, March 1109, and there he also died, April 1112. *Tripoli*, which *Bertrand* had conquered in the East, was inherited by his son *Pontius*; but his half-brother *ALFONSO-JOURDAIN*, then count of *Rouergue*, became master of the dominions at home. From Thoulouse, the new count, in his turn, was expelled by the duke of Aquitaine, in the year 1114; and in Provence, whither he withdrew, he had to fight for his own against *Raymond-Berenger III.*, count of Barcelona, the husband of the heiress of Lower Provence. When, however, he was besieged in Orange, in the year 1123, he was rescued and brought back in triumph by the people of Thoulouse; his old subjects having risen, some time before, while the duke of Aquitaine was gone to help the *Arragonese* against the Moors: so he recovered all that he had lost, and at last made a treaty with *Raymond-Berenger*, Sept. 1125, in which the limits of the marquisate and the county of Provence were settled. Born in the Holy Land, he likewise ended his life there, April 1248; being one of those who came by sea to join in the Second Crusade.

The two sons of *Alphonso-Jourdain*, *RAYMOND V.* and *ALFONSO II.*, governed together, the elder having the chief authority. This *Raymond* had wars with *Henry II.* of England; who, as duke of Aquitaine by marriage, revived the old claim to Thoulouse. For a time,

A. D. 1112. War with Hugh du Puiset and the count of Blois.

1113. Peace of Gisors.

1115. Intervention of Lewis in the Bourbonnais.

the feud was settled by the Peace of Limoges, Feb. 1173, at which the count of Thoulouse was left in possession of his domains, on condition of his becoming the vassal of Henry, "always saving the fealty which he owed to Lewis of France;" but before ten years had passed, fresh quarrels broke out, during which—in the year 1188—Richard Cœur de Lion conquered the Quercy. Raymond was also remarkable for his marriages. His first wife, *Constance of France* (the sister of Lewis VII. and the widow of *Eustace of Boulogne*, king *Stephen's* eldest son), he put away, in the year 1166, that he might marry the dowager of Castille and of Provence, *Richilda of Poland* (the niece of the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa); which was all sanctioned by the anti-pope Paschal, to whose party he had joined himself. When he submitted to Pope Alexander, the count would not take back his wife. His son by Constance, *RAYMOND VI.*,—the great sufferer from papal hate, in the Crusade against the Albigenses,—trod in his steps. Even before he had come to be count of Thoulouse, duke of Narbonne, and marquis of Provence, at the end of the year 1194, he had divorced a second, and even a third wife, the latter a princess of Cyprus, whom he had carried off when she was at Marseilles on her way to be married to the count of Flanders: his two last wives were Jane of England, queen-dowager of Sicily, whose brother Richard restored to him the Quercy, and *Eleanor*, the sister of Peter II. of Arragon. On his death, Aug. 1222, *RAYMOND VII.*, the child of his short-lived English wife, succeeded to a troubled inheritance; but had to give up most of it to the king of France and the Pope, when he made peace at Paris, April 1229. He also divorced his two wives, *Sanchia of Arragon*, the younger sister of his step-mother, and *Margaret of La Marche*; having twice wanted to marry daughters of the count of Provence, Sanchia and Beatrice, the future wives of Richard of Cornwall and Charles of Anjou. In him ended the male line of his house, Sept. 1249.

Thoulouse was then inherited by Raymond's daughter *JANE* and her husband *ALFONSO*, count of Poitou, the brother of St. Lewis. Having engaged in the Last Crusade, they went to Tunis with St. Lewis; but after his death, they wintered in Sicily, and at the close of the spring, passed over into Italy, where they died at Savona within a few days of each other, Aug. 1271. Philip the Hardy took

- A.D. 1116. War with Henry I. of England renewed.
 1118. Normandy invaded ; Baldwin Hapkin wounded at Eu.
 1119. Battle of Brenneville. Peace made by the Pope at Gisors.
 1121 and 1126. Interventions of Lewis in Auvergne.
 1125. The counts of Thoulouse and Barcelona divide Provence.
 1127. Charles the Good murdered ; William Clito, count of Flanders.
 1128. William Clito loses his life.
 1129. Siege of Livry ; Prince Philip crowned.
 1130. Thomas de Marle is slain.
 1131. Philip dies ; Lewis the Young crowned at Rheims.
 1135. Siege of St. Briason ; the king's health fails.
 1137. Lewis the Young marries Eleanor of Aquitaine. The king dies.

LEWIS VI., *the Fat*, hardly possessed five of the departments of modern France ; and even in these, except in a few cities and the neighbouring districts, his authority was almost lost in that of his own vassals. But as the redresser of wrongs, the friend of the Church and the poor, he had already acquired an influence which he could turn to good account : for the clergy, the smaller landholders, and the people of the towns, to whom in several instances he granted charters of community⁹, found it their interest to

possession of Thoulouse ; which was governed as a separate county, and was not formally annexed to the crown until the reign of John II., in the year 1361.

⁹ In several cities of the south of France, traces of municipal institutions were still to be found ; especially in Provence. In Northern France, where the towns which were not in the royal domain always belonged to some lord, communities developed themselves out of the Teutonic system of guilds ; which were fraternities, with a common banquet and a common purse, into which men clubbed themselves who either belonged to the same trade, or were interested in the same object and undertaking. As the lords claimed rights of purveyance, and pre-emption (see First Series, p. 229, note 3), and were ever exacting money by toltes, or tallages, and

uphold him. Also the Feudal System itself, which in a rotten age had saved society by enabling men to do for themselves singly what the state could no longer do for them, had necessarily in it some elements of order which would strengthen the hands of an active sovereign in regaining rights which, though dormant, in theory at least were still acknowledged. It taught duty and loyalty towards him ; it even made his person sacred. The great vassals showed him some deference for fear of weakening the allegiance of their own feudatories ; and these, in their turn, were not loth to witness the growth of a rule which one day might shelter them against the tyranny of their immediate lords. The incidents of forfeits and escheats would either bring back to the crown a great portion of what it had lost, or else give it the means of rewarding its adherents ; which, if judiciously managed, would enlist for it a host of sup-

quests ; the townsmen would combine, and either buy their enfranchisement, or win it by force : the king was also called upon to grant charters ; especially in places which were divided between one or more lords, who would encroach upon each other's boundaries. Thus rents and tallages were fixed, and the communities were allowed to choose their own magistrates and to have bye-laws. Noyon, St. Quentin, Laon, and Amiens, were some of the first which had charters from Lewis the Fat ; under the next kings, many of the royal towns also got similar grants ; and by the end of the thirteenth century, the example of the crown was so generally followed by its vassals, that there were corporate towns throughout France. Besides these were lesser communities, called boroughs or *burgages* (*bourgeoisies*) ; many of the nobles having encouraged the growth of towns and villages near their castles, by bestowing certain privileges on the inhabitants. Philip Augustus stood forth as the protector of corporate towns against their lords ; and by interfering in them to preserve order, his successors often managed to get them under their own jurisdiction. Lewis XI., however, adopted the policy of upholding their institutions to the utmost ; for he relied on the middle classes as his best help against the combinations of princes and nobles by which the very existence of his power was threatened.

porters. And the usages of chivalry, of which the king's household became the highest school, were drawing the nobles into closer connexion with the court; so that they were proud of performing menial services which otherwise would have been looked down upon as mere badges of subjection. Lewis was the man to avail himself of this state of things. His activity indeed was greater than his resources, and with a few knights and men-at-arms he was busied in carrying on petty wars: but his weight was felt more and more as a central force; and from the banks of the Meuse to the ridges of the Pyrenees, the old sovereignty of the French kings again made itself respected.

As Bertrada was plotting to set one of her own sons upon the throne, Lewis, by the advice of his sure friend *Ivo*, the learned bishop of *Chartres*, had himself crowned at Orleans when his father was hardly buried¹. Even then, his half-brother Philip, count of Mantes, was a thorn in his side: for Bertrada was the sister of *Amalric IV.*, count of *Montfort*, and the mother of *Fulk V.*, count of *Anjou*, and these might at any time league themselves with their kinsmen and the disaffected barons in the Isle of France. But as charges of robbery and oppression could be brought home against Philip, Lewis summoned him to be tried before his peers; and on his haughty refusal to come, he attacked his castles and seized upon his lordships². The dispossessed count withdrew to the domains of his uncle *Amalric*, and Bertrada, after a while,

¹ Lewis was crowned by the archbishop of *Sens*, as there happened to be a disputed election to the see of Rheims. *Raoul le Verd*, the archbishop-elect of the Pope's party, protested against the proceedings as an invasion of his rights; but the king conciliated him by giving up his support of the rival candidate.

² Philip's castle of Montlhéry was afterwards given to *Milo* of *Braye*, Guy Truzel's brother.—The deposition of Philip is placed by many in the year 1123.

thought fit to end her mischievous career by taking the veil at Fontevrault.

In the outset of his reign, Lewis drew upon himself a war with the house of Montmorency, by the favours which he granted to *Ansel de Garlande* and his valiant brothers. He also humbled the young robber chieftain *Hugh du Puiset*, whose stronghold he reduced and demolished, in the year 1111; nor did he release him from captivity until he gave up to the crown all his rights to the county of Corbeil, which he was on the eve of inheriting. When the king was gone to Flanders, Hugh allied himself with *Theobald IV.*, count of *Blois*, and began to rebuild his castle: but he was again foiled, although Theobald at one time routed the royal army near Toury. Lewis also, in the year 1115, fought for the new community of Amiens against *Enguerrand*, the lord of *Coucy*, and his fiend-like son *Thomas de Marle*³; and after a struggle which lasted two years, he rescued the city out of the hands of its oppressors. In the meanwhile, he forced *Aymon*, the lord of *Bourbon*, to throw himself at his feet, and to submit to be judged by him, when his title was called in question by the friends of the boy *Archibald*, the child of his elder brother⁴. And at a later period, he showed that he was really the feudal king of France by redressing the wrongs of the bishop of *Clermont*, who had appealed to him for protection against the count of *Auvergne*. Twice he marched triumphantly into Auvergne, followed—especially in his second expedition, July 1126—by a host of vassals⁵; so that at last the refractory count and William IX. of

³ Thomas de Marle (or de Marne) was one of those wretches who would torture their captives, to squeeze a heavy ransom out of them.

⁴ Archibald dying soon afterwards, Aymon was left in possession of the Bourbonnais.

⁵ Charles, count of Flanders, and Fulk V. of Anjou were with the king in his second war, which was five years after the former one.

Aquitaine, his ally and immediate lord, had to bind themselves to plead before him as their sovereign⁶. His jurisdiction being thus acknowledged, the matter was allowed to be settled by a treaty.

It was in the days of Lewis, that the rivalry between France and England may be deemed to have begun in right earnest. Its first outbreak was in the year 1109, when Henry I., having lately conquered Normandy, refused to dismantle the border castle of Gisors on the Epte⁷, and jeeringly declined the challenge of the king of France to meet him in single combat. There was then a war of skirmishes and forays, in the midst of which Theobald of Blois, being at feud with his sovereign, leagued himself with Henry, who was his mother's brother: the count's domains were attacked by Lewis, who seems, however, to have been worsted in an affair at Meaux, in which his half-uncle, *Robert II.*, count of *Flanders*, lost his life⁸, Dec. 1111. Fulk of Anjou afterwards went over to the English, and the barons of the Isle of France were disaffected; so Lewis was fain to conclude a peace at Gisors, March 1113, in which Henry's rights of lordship over Brittany and Maine⁹ were recognized. During the short period of rest which followed, Lewis married *Adelaide of Maurienne*, who was the sister of *Amadeus II.*, the first count of *Savoy*.

⁶ The duke was to represent his vassal at the king's court.

⁷ Henry had pledged himself to dismantle this neutral stronghold, should it ever be yielded to him by the castellan.

⁸ Suger says that he was drowned in the Marne, the bridge over which had broken down; but it is believed that he died of the injuries which he received when trampled on after he had fallen from his horse in the rout.

⁹ Fulk of Anjou had lately paid homage for Maine to Henry, being gained over by the betrothal of his daughter *Matilda* to that king's only son *William*.

About a twelvemonth¹ after this last event, in the year 1116, the two kings again quarrelled¹. Lewis now declared himself the champion of the claims of *William Clito*, the son of the deprived duke of Normandy; and on the same side were *Baldwin VII.*, *Hapkin*², count of *Flanders*, and even Fulk of Anjou, whose friendship for Henry had already changed, and whose wish was now to be grand senechal of France. Little was done at first, to fulfil the hopes which had been held out to the Normans; the second campaign was more vigorous. Pouring in at different points, the allies overran Normandy; on which eighteen of the chief lords in the duchy openly rose, and Henry, whose life was plotted against by his most trusted followers³, had to keep within the walls of Rouen, while

¹ WILLIAM II., count of *Nevers*, *Auxerre*, and *Tonnerre*, after fighting for Lewis against Thomas de Marne, had been seized, while returning home, by Henry's nephew the count of Blois, and detained in captivity.

² Baldwin was called Hapkin from the hatchet which he always carried, and with which he is even said to have cut off the heads of criminals. His love of justice being blended with ferocity, he showed these no mercy. Noble robbers, who then swarmed in Flanders, had good reason to dread and hate him.

³ The revolt, in the beginning of the next year, of *Eustace de Breteuil*, who had married Henry's bastard daughter *Juliana*, is too characteristic of the age to be omitted. When Henry would not let him have the castle of Ivry, he called upon *Raoul de Harenc*, its governor, to yield it up; and on being refused, he tore out the eyes of that man's son, whom he had been allowed to keep as a hostage. In requital, Henry had given up his own grandchildren, the two daughters of Eustace and the hostages of his allegiance, to Harenc, by whom their eyes were put out and their noses cut off. Eustace joined the French; and Juliana aimed an arrow in vain at her father's heart, when besieged in the citadel of Breteuil, where she was quickly forced to capitulate. She was then obliged, in presence of the whole army, to let herself down by a rope from the castle wall into the moat beneath, and to wade with uplifted garments through the half frozen water which rose to her waist!

Baldwin Hapkin struck one of the gates with his axe, Aug. 1118, and the neighbouring country was in flames. But the cool-headed king never lost himself, and fortune did not forsake him. Baldwin had hardly turned aside from Rouen, than he was wounded in the face as he was besieging the castle of Eu; and though the hurt was but a slight one, he was so free a liver, that it brought on a slow fever, of which he died, after lingering about ten months, June 1119. By that time, Henry had detached Fulk from the league, by fulfilling his promise of marrying his only son to the count's daughter; so that Lewis was left almost alone, though not disheartened, to bear the brunt of a contest in which he had reckoned upon having most powerful help. In the following August, the two foes chanced to light upon each other in the plain of Brenneville, near Andely, and a battle was fought, in which nine hundred knights were engaged, only three of whom were killed⁴: it was won by the English king, the French standard and one hundred and forty prisoners being taken in the almost bloodless fray. Lewis made some reprisals with a body of peasants, who were mustered and led by their parish priests; but these could do nothing but pillage. In the month of October, when Calixtus II., his wife's uncle⁵, was holding the council of Rheims, he eloquently denounced the ill deeds of his adversary. Yet the latter skilfully excused himself at Gisors, whither the Pope went to remonstrate with him; and a peace was even brought about, Nov. 1119. The unhappy Robert was left in his

⁴ There were nearly 500 English and Norman knights, only one-fifth of whom fought on horseback, and 400 French. Henry had two blows on the head, the shock of which forced the blood from his nostrils; and Lewis, whose horse was killed under him, escaped on foot, and lost his way in a wood. William Clito was also in the rout.

⁵ Calixtus was the brother of *Gisela*, countess of *Maurienne*, whose second husband was *Rainier*, marquis of *Montferrat*.

prison, and Henry's son—the prince shortly afterwards drowned at Barfleur—was allowed to do homage for the duchy of Normandy.

The troubles in Normandy were renewed, Sept. 1123, when Amalric of Montfort, now count of Evreux⁶, and other discontented barons rose in behalf of William Clito, who was moreover engaged to Fulk of Anjou's daughter *Sibylla*—a marriage which Henry got the Pope to forbid as incestuous. The next year, that king's son-in-law, the Emperor Henry V., seemed to threaten France with an invasion; on which Lewis gathered together his vassals, and went to the altar of St. Denys to receive the sacred banner called the *Oriflamme*⁷, from the hands of the renowned abbot *Suger*⁸. But as the Germans withdrew from the frontier without fighting, and the insurgents in Normandy were worsted, the late peace was confirmed.

⁶ The first count of Evreux was a bastard of Richard I., of Normandy, ROBERT, likewise archbishop of Rouen; who, in his capacity of count, had a wife or concubine named *Herleva*, and was succeeded by his eldest son RICHARD. His grandson WILLIAM died childless, April 1118; but the county was, after several reverses, secured by AMALRIC, baron of Montfort, whose mother *Agnes*, William's sister, was the third wife of *Simon*, baron of *Montfort*. After Amalric, followed in succession his sons AMALRIC II. and SIMON *the Bald*; the latter of whom, by his second wife *Amicia de Beaumont* (daughter of Robert, earl of *Leicester*), was the father of AMALRIC III., and of the famous crusader Simon, who became baron, and afterwards count of Montfort. By Amalric III., Evreux was ceded to Philip Augustus, May 1200, John of England giving him the earldom of Gloucester, which he did not live to enjoy long.

⁷ The *Oriflamme* was a banner of flame-coloured silk on a gilt spear, which the counts of the Vexin carried in war as the protectors of St. Denys. It now became the standard of the French kings, as the cope of St. Martin had formerly been.

⁸ The king had lately allowed Suger to be abbot of St. Denys, though he had imprisoned several of the monks for electing him without his leave.

Lewis, however, had not really given up William Clito. He warmly pleaded for him in a large assembly of lords at his court in Paris, at the opening of the year 1127; married him to *Joan of Montferrat*, the queen's half-sister; bestowed upon him the Vexin and other fiefs; and, with the help of Flemings and the Norman malcontents, was preparing to restore to him all that his father had lost. While he was thus engaged, the tidings reached him that his ally *Charles the Good*, count of *Flanders*, a prince of Danish blood, had been murdered while praying in a church at Bruges, March 1127¹. The crime was heavily avenged by the indignant king; who also got the states of Flanders to receive William Clito as their count, in right of his grandmother Matilda, although he was by no means the nearest heir. Several claimants, however, started up¹; the most popular of whom, *Diedrich of Alsatia*, was upheld by Henry of England. Owing to the death of William Clito at the siege of Alost, July 1128, Diedrich, though beaten in the field, became count of Flanders, Lewis himself being obliged to sanction his election.

After this last success, the active hatred of Henry sought further to gratify itself by helping the count of Evreux, when his former foe and the chancellor *Stephen de Garlande* had turned against Lewis². But that king forced

¹ He had caused the stores of grain which belonged to *Bertulf van der Strate*, his chancellor, to be sold to the poor at a low price; and also would not allow some of the Van der Strate to have a trial by battle, insinuating that they were of slavish origin. Five hundred of the Van der Strate and their followers joined in the outbreak, of whom one hundred and eleven were afterwards put to death in various cruel ways.

¹ See p. 146, note 4. Among them was Baldwin V., count of Hainault.

² Stephen de Garlande, when forced to give up the office of seneschal, which his two deceased brothers had held before him, but

them to submit, having taken and razed the castle of Livry, in the siege of which he was wounded in the leg, and his cousin *Rodolf*, count of *Vermandais*, lost an eye. About this time, on Easter Day, April 1129, Lewis' eldest son *Philip* was crowned when only fourteen years old. His end was untimely. He was killed by a fall from his horse, in the streets of Paris³, Oct. 1131; and in the same month, the crown was placed on the head of his brother, *Lewis the Young*, (or *Florus*), at Rheims, where a council had been called together by Pope Innocent II. The old king Lewis had indeed been on ill terms with the papal court, owing to the firmness which he had often shown in church matters⁴; yet he was quite as zealous as the rest of France for the exiled pontiff, who, on his side, was now ready enough to be friends with him.

Although in body he had become unwieldy, Lewis VI. was active as a prince and a warrior almost to the last. In the year 1130, he besieged at Coucy the ruffian Thomas de Marle; who, in a sally, was mortally wounded and taken prisoner by the count of Vermandais. *Enguerrand*, the son of Thomas, when he began again to rob travelling merchants, as his father had done, was also attacked, but not with a like success; and a harassing, yet small war was carried on with Henry of England's nephew, Theobald of Blois, now likewise count of Champagne, whose enmity to his sovereign was untiring. At length, by over-exerting

was not so well suited for an archdeacon of Paris, is said to have transferred it, without the king's leave, to the count of Evreux, the husband of his niece *Agnes*, Ansel's daughter.

³ A pig having run between his horse's legs, the prince was thrown, and died insensible that night.

⁴ In a dispute with the bishop of *Paris* and his metropolitan, the archbishop of *Sens*, in the year 1127, his dominions were put under an interdict, which, however, Honorius II. caused to be taken off.

himself, when he chastised the lord of St. Brisson for his robberies and burnt his castle, Lewis brought upon himself a chronic dysentery; so that during the last two years of his life, he languished in much weakness, and was chiefly engaged in preparing for his end by deeds of charity, even reconciling himself with Theobald.

While he was in this state, Henry, his rival, died, and the crown of England was seized by *Stephen of Blois*⁵, the count of Champagne's brother. The alarming growth of the Anglo-Norman power in France was thus greatly checked: for civil wars broke out on both sides of the channel, owing to the rights of the late king's daughter, the Empress Matilda; whose second husband, *Geoffrey Plantagenet*, had become count of *Anjou* and *Maine*, Fulk V., his father, having gone away to the Holy Land to gain the kingdom of Jerusalem by a new marriage. Lewis might also congratulate himself upon the good fortune of his own son, to whom the hand of *Eleanor*, the heiress of Guienne and Poitou, was offered by her father, *William X., of Aquitaine*, then on the eve of a pilgrimage to the Shrine of St. James, at Compostella⁶, where he died in church on Good Friday, April 1137, still in the prime of life. The crown prince went to Bordeaux with a brilliant retinue, and wedded his orphan bride in July; but as he was returning, in the beginning of August, the tidings reached him that Lewis VI. had also breathed his last.

⁵ Count of *Boulogne*, in right of his wife *Matilda*. His claims were favoured by Lewis, who wrote to the Pope in his behalf.

⁶ William X. had just given up the cause of the Antipope. He had also lately been with Geoffrey Plantagenet in his fruitless invasion of Normandy, Sept. 1136, and may have felt some remorse for the horrors which had there been perpetrated. When he was about to begin his pilgrimage, *Emma of Limoges*, a young widow whom he had married, was carried off by *William Taillefer*, afterwards count of *Angoulême*. His spirit seems to have been broken.

During this reign, there were great troubles in the south of France. The house of Aquitaine had inherited claims on Thoulouse, which the father of the late duke more than once made good, though he was eventually driven out by *Alfonso Jourdain*, the representative of the branch of St. Gilles; and Alfonso Jourdain himself was, on account of his rights in Provence, involved in a war with *Raymond-Berenger III.*, count of *Barcelona*⁷. That dispute was settled, Sept. 1125, by a treaty of partition which left the marquisate of Upper Provence in the possession of the count of Thoulouse. When Raymond-Berenger died, July 1130, the elder of his sons, *Raymond-Berenger*, (who afterwards married *Petronilla*, the heiress of the crown of Arragon,) ruled in Catalonia, and the younger, *Berenger-Raymond*, got the county of Provence for his share⁸.

⁷ For a fuller account of these transactions, see p. 157, note 8.

⁸ Provence was, in the year 926, given as a county by Hugh, king of Italy, to Boso I., who was probably a nephew of the king of that name. In the year 948, another Boso was made count by Conrad the Pacific, king of Arles; after which Boso II., came his sons WILLIAM I. and ROTBOLD in succession. When Rotbold died, his elder brother's son, WILLIAM II., was now old enough to have the county, which, at his death, ten years afterwards (A.D. 1018), became an hereditary fief. It was then held for a while in common by two of his sons, GEOFFREY I. and BERTRAND I., and their cousin WILLIAM III., the son of Rotbold. This William, indeed, died childless; but his sister Emma, the second wife of William Taillefer, count of Thoulouse, (see p. 156, note 8,) transmitted claims to her descendants, which her celebrated grandson Raymond IV., of St. Gilles, did not fail to assert. Bertrand I. having also died, about the year 1054, the county was divided between his surviving brother, Geoffrey I., who had Lower Provence, and his own sons, WILLIAM BERTRAND II. and GEOFFREY II. The only representative of these two brothers in the next generation, was *Adelaide*, the child of William Bertrand and the second wife of *Ermengald*, count of *Urgel*: her son WILLIAM inherited the county of Forcalquier, which, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, was re-united by marriage to Provence. A daughter of Bertrand I. was the spouse

A.D. 1137. *Lewis VII., the Young.* Orleans punished.

1141. Thoulouse invaded. Quarrel with the Pope and the count of Champagne.

of Raymond of St. Gilles; who, a short time before he became count of Thoulouse, succeeded in wresting most of Upper Provence from the rule of a weak and divided family.

Geoffrey I. died in the year 1063, at latest. After him came his son *BERTRAND II.*; and thirty years afterwards, his own energetic widow, *ETIENNETTE*. For a short time, in the early part of the next century, their daughter *GERBERGA*, the wife of *Gilbert*, viscount of *Gévaudan*, had Lower Provence; but in her widowhood, she gave it up to her eldest child, *DOUCE*, Feb. 1112, some lands being also assigned to a younger daughter, *Etiennette*, who was married to *Raymond de Baux*.

Douce soon handed over her rights to her husband, the count of Barcelona, *RAYMOND-BERENGER I.*, Jan. 1113. After long trying to recover Upper Provence from *Alfonso Jourdain* of Thoulouse, that count consented, Sept. 1125, to a treaty which limited him to the country from the Durance to the sea; and when he died, July 1130, he left Provence to his second son, *BERENGER-RAYMOND*, whose right, however, was contested by *Etiennette's* husband, *Raymond de Baux*. *Berenger-Raymond* having been slain in a fight with a Genoese galley, in the year 1144; his son *RAYMOND-BERENGER II.* succeeded under the guardianship of the count of Barcelona, his uncle, notwithstanding the continued opposition of *Raymond de Baux*, whose claims were even sanctioned by a deed of enfeoffment, granted Aug. 1146, by the Emperor *Conrad III.*, as king of Arles. These claims were renounced by the pretender, in the year 1148: but he died, and the treaty was not kept by his eldest son, *Hugh*, in whose favour, moreover, the enfeoffment was renewed by *Frederic Barbarossa*, in the year 1155. That deed was revoked. The count of Barcelona married his ward to the Emperor's niece, *Richilda* of Poland, the queen (or empress) dowager of Castille, and thus obtained for him a regular grant of the disputed fief, Sept. 1162. Young *Raymond-Berenger* was killed at the siege of the rebellious city of Nice, March 1166, leaving an infant daughter, named *Douce*, already contracted to the heir of Thoulouse; on which *Raymond V.*, the count of Thoulouse, married *Richilda*, and faithlessly made himself master of Provence. The following year, *Raymond* was driven out by *ALFONSO (II.)*, king of Arragon, the son of the late count of Barce-

- A. D. 1142. Burning of Vitry.
 1144. Geoffrey Plantagenet conquers Normandy.
 1147. *Lewis goes on the Second Crusade*; Suger regent.
 1149. Return of Lewis.
 1152. Suger dies. Queen Eleanor is divorced, and marries Henry of Anjou.
 1154. Henry of Anjou becomes king of England.

lona; but at the treaty of Guernica, April 1176, he got 30,000 marks as a compensation. Douce had died in retirement.

Alfonso entrusted with the charge of Provence his brother RAYMOND-BERENGIER III., and then his brother SANCHE. Sancho was superseded by the king's second son, ALFONSO II.; who became full count on his father's death, April 1196, and had married *Gersenda de Sabran*, the granddaughter and heiress of the last of the counts of Forcalquier. When Alfonso II. died, Feb. 1209, his son RAYMOND-BERENGIER IV., a boy not more than eleven years old, had much trouble to get his own: for *William de Sabran* claimed Forcalquier in right of his mother *Alice*, the daughter of a former count; *William de Baux*, prince of *Orange*, is also even said to have had a grant of the dignity of king of Arles from the Emperor Frederic II., Jan. 1214; and Arles, Aix, Marseilles, Nice, and Avignon declared themselves free republics. In the year 1217, he escaped from the court of Arragon, where he was living as the king's ward; and by his energy gradually retrieved his affairs, especially after his marriage with *Beatrice of Savoy*, the daughter of count Thomas, Dec. 1220. His children were Margaret, queen of St. Lewis; Eleanor, queen of England; Sanchia, queen of the Romans; and Beatrice, the future queen of Sicily, to whom, though she was the youngest, he bequeathed Provence, asserting that he was free to will his property in a country where the Roman law was in vogue. He died at Aix, Aug. 1245.

BEATRICE, though promised to Raymond VII. of Thoulouse, gave her hand to CHARLES, count of Anjou and Maine, Jan. 1246, and thus avoided a war with his brother, St. Lewis. In the year 1362, when JOANNA I. of Naples died, LEWIS of France, duke of Anjou, whom that unhappy queen had adopted, founded the second Angevin dynasty of counts of Provence; and the last of these, CHARLES III., of Maine, left his dominions, Dec. 1481, to king LEWIS XI. By CHARLES VIII., the son of Lewis, Provence was annexed for ever to the crown of France, Oct. 1486.

- A.D. 1158. Treaty with Henry II. of England.
 1159. Henry II. invades Thoulouse, and is opposed by Lewis.
 1160. Lewis makes peace. Queen Constance dies ; marriages of Lewis and of Henry's son.
 1162. Pope Alexander welcomed in France.
 1164. Lewis harbours Thomas à Becket.
 1167. War with Henry renewed. Alfonso II. of Arragon seizes Provence.
 1169. Peace of Montmirail. Partition of Auvergne.
 1170. Feuds with Henry. Death of Becket.
 1172. Alfonso of Arragon inherits Roussillon.
 1173. Lewis takes part with Henry's sons. Rout at Verneuil.
 1174. Siege of Rouen. Peace of Montlouis.
 1179. Philip Augustus crowned.
 1180. Death of Lewis VII.

LEWIS VII., *the Young*, in the outset of his reign, fiercely chastised the townsmen of Orleans for having tried to form themselves into a community ; and the following Christmas, he was solemnly crowned with his wife at Bourges. His marriage had immensely strengthened his rule in the south of France ; so much so, that the count of Champagne and other great vassals thought that he was becoming too powerful, and were backward to give him any help when he revived the claims of his wife's family to the county of Thoulouse, as a female fief. He besieged Thoulouse, in the year 1141, and failed altogether in his purpose.

By that time, he had been drawn into a quarrel with the Pope on account of the election to the vacant archbishopric of Bourges, and every place where he abode was put under an interdict. The papal nominee, *Peter de la Châtre*, was protected by Theobald of Champagne, whose jealousy of the king was yet worse embittered when the count of Vermandais divorced his kinswoman to marry *Petronilla*, the queen's sister¹: thus a war broke out, in

¹ She also called herself *Adelaide*. The first marriage of Rodolf was declared on oath to be null by his brother *Simon of Noyon* and

the course of which, besides other successes, Lewis took and burned the strong town of Vitry in Champagne (A.D. 1142). His conscience, however, was so troubled by the circumstance that more than thirteen hundred men, women, and children, who had sought refuge in a church, had perished in the flames, that it led him to make peace, through St. Bernard, with Celestin II., the new Pope¹; and a few months later, Feb. 1144, with Theobald himself. In the beginning of that same year, he joined with the count of Flanders, in aiding Geoffrey Plantagenet to conquer most of Normandy; perhaps because Stephen of Blois seemed to be getting more firmly seated on the throne of England, and was therefore to be excluded from the continent as a dangerous neighbour.

Tidings having come to Europe of the fall of Edessa, Lewis VII., whose tender conscience was still burthened by the remembrance of Vitry², eagerly came forward to undertake the holy war against the unbelievers. In a vast assembly which he had gathered together at Vezelay, he and his queen, and his brother *Robert*, count of *Dreux*³,

two other bishops; but the Pope and Theobald's friend, St. Bernard, took up the matter, and they were suspended and the count excommunicated. Though Rodolf was restored to communion, his new marriage was not allowed to be valid until after the death of the divorced *Eleanor*, who was either sister or niece of Theobald of Champagne.

¹ St. Bernard behaved with some duplicity. He had advised the late Pope to take off the count of Vermandais' excommunication for a while, as he might afterwards renew it. The plan was tried; but Lewis, who was upheld by Suger, seized the temporalities of several vacant sees, and showed that he was not to be trifled with.

² He had likewise scruples about his treaty with the Pope, as he had sworn never to admit Peter de la Châtre as archbishop. He also thought himself bound to fulfil the vow of his deceased brother Philip, to fight for the Holy Land.

³ ROBERT I., count of Dreux, was the father of ROBERT II., from whom descended the elder branch of Dreux, the male line of which

and the counts of Flanders and Thoulouse, and many thousands of men whose souls had been stirred by the eloquence of St. Bernard, took the cross on Easter Day, March 1146; and the next year, at Whitsuntide, he fetched the Oriflamme from St. Denys, and set out on his march for the East, June 1147, leaving the government at home to the prudent abbot Suger, who had tried hard to dissuade him from going. The crusade ended most unhappily⁴. Returning from it slowly and by sea⁵,—shame made him linger on the way,—Lewis landed with only a scanty train at St. Gilles on the Rhone, Oct. 1149; and for the rest of his life, his youthful spirit of enterprise quite forsook him.

The crusade had not failed to arouse a strong feeling against Jews and heretics. While it was preaching, *Peter de Bruys*, who, besides attacking the errors of the Church of Rome, had denied the validity of infant baptism, was burned to death in a slow fire by the rabble at St. Gilles. His disciple *Henry* spread his notions more widely, and filled the south of France with Henricians⁶.

Within a few years after the king's return, died Geoffrey Plantagenet, Sept. 1151; Theobald of Champagne and

failed in the year 1345, and the last dynasty of the dukes of Brittany.

⁴ See also *The Second Crusade*, vol. i., pp. 62, 63.

⁵ He was brought home by the galleys of the king of Sicily; and there is a somewhat doubtful story that they rescued him from the Greeks, who had taken him prisoner at sea. He would hardly have returned, had he not been warned by Suger that Robert of Dreux was already intriguing to dethrone him.

⁶ A mad Briton knight, *Eon de L'Etoile*, who thought that he had the power of God, was imprisoned by the council of Rheims, in the year 1146; and many of his followers were burnt alive, much astonished that the flames did not obey their command not to consume them. Eon thought himself to be foretold in the words "*per eum* (pronounced by the Breton priests *eon*) judicaturus."

the wise Suger, Jan. 1152 ; Rodolf of Vermandais, March 1152 ; and St. Bernard, Aug. 1153. The death of Suger happened just as Lewis was on the eve of stripping himself of all that he had gained by his marriage with Eleanor, a woman whom he had long ceased to love, and whose levity had deeply grieved him⁷. She had sought more than once, though the mother of two daughters, to be parted from a husband whom she railed at as being more of a monk than a king ; but policy had made him turn a deaf ear to such a demand, until, as they were on a journey together through her territories, he suddenly withdrew his garrisons from the castles, and yielded to her wishes. A divorce was at once granted by a council at Baugency, March 1152, some of Eleanor's kindred having sworn that the ill-matched couple were within the forbidden degrees⁸. The repudiated queen had not far to seek for another husband. The first lord into whose land she set her foot,—*Theobald V.*, count of *Blois*, the second son of the late count of Champagne,—wanted to force her to marry him ; and when, in her flight homewards, she reached Tours, she was warned to shun the ambuscade of another suitor, young *Geoffrey*, a son of the deceased count of Anjou. Geoffrey's elder brother, *Henry Fitz-Empress*, was the prince who bore away the rich prize. He hurried to Poitiers, and after a wooing which was most suspiciously short, married Eleanor the next Whit-Sunday (May 1152) ; so that even before he had

⁷ When in Palestine, he is said to have been jealous of the fair crusader's uncle, *Raymond*, prince of *Antioch*, and even of a Saracen captive.

⁸ The number of frivolous divorces and cases of open bigamy in these ages, are infallible signs of a low state of morals. The large proportion of second, third, and fourth marriages would likewise betoken a great mortality caused by the ignorance of physicians, by a bad system of diet, by want of cleanliness, and perhaps by the unwholesomeness of confined and ill-ventilated castles.

gotten the crown of England, his dominions were more than twice as large as those of the king of France⁹. Poor Lewis tried to keep down his rival by a league with King Stephen, Robert of Dreux, *Henry I.*, count of Champagne, and Geoffrey of Anjou, the last of whom was not kindly treated by his brother; but although he invaded Normandy, in July, he speedily met with a check, and thought it best to agree to a truce.

The nationality of France was indeed most seriously threatened. All the fiefs belonging to the three great houses of Normandy, Anjou, and Poitou, were, in the year 1154 (when King Stephen died), practically converted into an English France; there was also an Imperial France in the kingdoms of Lorraine, Burgundy, and Arles, of which Frederic Barbarossa was the liege lord; and a Spanish France was forming in the South, where *Alfonso II.*, king of Arragon, seized upon Provence, in the year 1167, and had afterwards the county of Roussillon bequeathed to him, July 1172¹. But the French monarchy outlived the danger. It was the destiny of England to spread her rule over the islands, and the seas, and the far countries yet unknown, not to conquer the neighbouring mainland; the sluggish sovereignty of the Germans in the eastern kingdoms crumbled away; and the encroaching

⁹ According to Sismondi, Lewis' dominions were equal to eight modern departments; Henry's fiefs, to at least fifteen. The latter had also rights of feudal superiority in Angoulême, Auvergne, and elsewhere, not to speak of his claims on Thoulouse.

¹ By GENNARD (or Gerard) II., the last of a dynasty of counts which arose in the beginning of the tenth century. The right of feudal sovereignty was given up by Lewis IX., May 1258; but, in the year 1462, the county was sold or mortgaged to Lewis XI., and remained in the possession of France for thirty years. It was finally conquered by the French in August 1642, and was retained at the Peace of the Pyrenees.

Spaniards stopped short and gradually lost ground, till in the end they fell back behind the Pyrenees.

While Lewis, within two years after his divorce, had married *Constance* of *Castille*, the daughter of that Alfonso VII. who styled himself emperor of Spain; and had sought to strengthen himself further by an alliance with *Raymond V.*, count of *Thoulouse*, bestowing upon him the hand of his sister²; the new king of England, armed with an infamous dispensation from the Pope, was withholding from his brother Geoffrey the counties of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, which he had sworn to yield up to him as soon as ever he himself should have recovered the whole of his mother's inheritance³. Henry won Lewis over by his flattery, at a conference, Feb. 1156, and then fell upon Geoffrey, took his castles, and forced him to put up with a yearly pension; yet he allowed him, the next year, to become count of Nantes, whither he had been invited by the citizens to oppose *Conan the Small*, whom the rest of Brittany had acknowledged as duke⁴. Geoffrey soon dying, July 1158, Conan entered Nantes, and the citizens swore fealty to him: but Henry put forth a groundless claim to the county as his brother's

² *Constance*, the widow of King Stephen's son Eustace.

³ The late count of Anjou, when dying, had bound his prelates and nobles by an oath, not to let his body be buried until Henry had sworn to fulfil the provisions of his will.

⁴ Alan Fergent's son CONAN III., *the Fat*, having declared when dying, Sept. 1148, that *Hoel*, the child of his wife *Matilda* (a bastard daughter of Henry I. of England), was none of his, the people of Rennes set up EUDRES, count of *Porhoët*, the second husband of his daughter BERTHA. That duke was deposed, in the year 1156, by his stepson CONAN IV., *the Small*; on which the people of Nantes, finding that *Hoel*, whom they had hitherto supported, was not likely to stand his ground, offered the duchy of Brittany to Geoffrey.

heir, and wanted to be judge in his own cause as duke of Normandy, of which Brittany was the fief; and at the same time, lest there should be any appeal to the sovereign against him, he gave out that, as count of Anjou, he was seneschal of France—implying a right to command the king's army, and to preside in his feudal court. These pretensions were countenanced by Lewis⁵; who was again fascinated at an interview, on the last day of August, in which it was settled that his daughter *Margaret*, a babe in the cradle, should be affianced to *Henry*, the crown prince of England, then about three years old⁶: thus Conan saw that it was hopeless to hold out, and the English king marched into Nantes without striking a blow.

But the very next summer, when Henry, aided by Raymond-Berenger, count of Barcelona, undertook the conquest of Languedoc, Lewis became alarmed, and checked his progress by throwing himself into the city of Thoulouse. In revenge for this, the count of Blois was stirred up to invade the royal domains; and for a few months, there was open war between the two kings, which was stopped by a truce, at the end of which a peace was made, May 1160. Queen Constance dying in childbed in October, her husband, who as yet had no son, in less than a fortnight married *Alice*, the daughter of the late count of Champagne: which greatly troubled Henry, as the brothers of the new queen had hitherto been his staunch allies, and so he at once solemnized the wedding of the two children under his

⁵ Yet, in the year 1164, Lewis gave the office of seneschal to Theobald V., count of Blois, the husband of his second daughter *Alice*.

⁶ The Norman Vexin (which had been ceded to France, eight years before), Gisors, and other castles were to be Margaret's dower.—As the Salic law was not yet established, and the daughters of Lewis by Eleanor were of doubtful legitimacy, that young lady might have become heiress of France.

charge (Nov. 1160), the knights templars yielding up to him the lands which they held in trust for the infant princess. This unseemly behaviour would have renewed the war, had not winter been so nigh at hand; but Lewis having leisure to weigh well the cost and risk of a fresh struggle, the storm blew over.

Henry had still the alliance, in the north of France, of the count of Flanders, whose second son, *Matthew of Alsatia*, he had lately managed to establish in the vacant county of Boulogne⁷; his influence was felt in almost

⁷ The county of Boulogne, which (in the ninth century) had been detached from that of Ponthieu, was held at first by nephews and sons of *Baldwin II., the Bold*, the second of the counts of Flanders. About the year 965, a new dynasty succeeded, which was an offshoot of the house of Ponthieu, and ended in *EUSTACE III.*, whose heiress *Matilda* became the wife of *STEPHEN of Blois*, afterwards king of England. Stephen inherited the fief in the year 1125, at latest; but his male line failed in his younger son, *WILLIAM II.*, Oct. 1159 (or, as some say, in August 1160), and his daughter *Mary*, the abbess of an English nunnery, was induced by Henry I. to give her hand to *MATTHEW of Alsatia*. The abbess, who eventually retired into a convent, leaving her husband free to marry again, was the mother of two daughters, the elder of whom, *Ida*, transmitted the county to four husbands, count *MATTHEW II.*, *GERARD (III.)*, count of Guelders, *BERTHOLD (IV.)*, duke of Zaehringen, and *REGINALD*, count of Dammartin: the last of these (who, after divorcing a former wife, had fairly carried her off) had a child by her, named *Maud*; who was married to *PHILIP Hurepel* (Rough-skin), a son of Philip Augustus, and then to *ALFONSO of Portugal*. That prince afterwards reigned in Portugal as *Alfonso III.*, and forsook the countess to marry a younger wife. *Maud* dying, Jan. 1258, *HENRY III. (or IV.)*, duke of Brabant, the grandson of *Matilda*, younger daughter of the abbess *Mary*, got two of his aunts to yield him their claims to Boulogne, where the right of representation did not exist: he was still opposed, however, by *ROBERT (V.)*, count of Auvergne, the son of his aunt *Adelaide*, and he thought it best to give up the county for a sum of money (A.D. 1260). In the fifteenth century, it was seized by Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy (see p. 182, note 2); and though, after the death of Charles the Bold, Lewis XI., having conquered it, restored it to the counts of

every part of the kingdom ; and his own domains were in perfect order, the barons, even in England and in Normandy, being brought under control. He had been baffled indeed in his attempts to conquer Thoulouse ; yet he afterwards made a great acquisition, in the year 1166, when Conan of Brittany, as the price of the help which was given him against his step-father, resigned his duchy into his keeping, as the guardian of his infant daughter *Constance*, then betrothed to the boy *Geoffrey*, a younger son of the prosperous English prince. The tide of fortune was, however, turning against him. His power and resources were crippled by his rash quarrel with Archbishop Becket ; and when his troublesome foe was murdered, the rebellions of his sons still kept him down, and marred his advantages.

Lewis, of course, had harboured Becket all the time that that prelate was an exile ; just as he and Henry himself had lately acted, when Pope Alexander fled to France during his struggle against the Emperor¹. He also redressed the wrongs of some bishops in Auvergne, although it was a fief of Aquitaine : this was in the year 1165, in which also a son was at last born to him, *Philip*, surnamed *Augustus*, from the month in which he came into the world. His rejoicings at this hopeful event were troubled by the open quarrel between his sister and her faithless husband, the count of Thoulouse : for, owing to the divorce which followed, he lost his chief ally in the south of France, where

Auvergne, that monarch, in a few months, had it ceded to him in exchange for a fief in Languedoc, Jan. 1478.

¹ Alexander landed in France, in April 1162. He refused to join in a conference which the Emperor had proposed to Lewis ; on which, the latter sovereign, when he reached S. Jean de Losne, the place of tryst, took advantage of Frederic's not having yet arrived, though his chancellor was come, and spurring his steed, rode off. Lewis then went with the king of England to meet the Pope ; whom they welcomed with a great show of respect, walking on each side of his mule and holding his bridle.

he was most in need of help. Henry was thus encouraged to revive his favourite plan of conquering Thoulouse; but though he got up a league against the count, he was again baffled.

In the year 1167, the war between the rival kings broke out afresh. The counts of Flanders and Boulogne now forsook the alliance of the Plantagenet prince; *Adelbert IV.*, count of *Marche* (La Marche), and *William IV.*, count of *Angoulême*, renounced their allegiance to him, and paid homage to the crown of France; several of the lords in Aquitaine likewise rebelled, and there were risings at Poitiers and in Brittany⁹. But on the Feast of Epiphany, Jan. 1169, a treaty of peace was concluded at Montmirail, in which the king of England engaged to pardon the rebels: his eldest son, Henry Shortmantle, the duke of Normandy, also did homage for Anjou, Maine, and Brittany¹, and was invested with the office of seneschal; and his second son, *Richard*, who was betrothed to *Alice*, the daughter of Lewis by his new queen, did homage for the duchy of Aquitaine. In the same year, the disputed succession of Auvergne was finally settled; *William IX., the Old*, retaining the county, but yielding up a share of the territory to his dispossessed nephew, *William the Young*, whose branch had the title of dauphin².

⁹ That revolt was stirred up by the deposed duke Eudes; Henry having violated the honour of his daughter *Alice*, who had been entrusted to him as a hostage.

¹ His younger brother Geoffrey, in his turn, paid him homage for Brittany, which he held as a sub-fief.

² *GUY I.*, count of Auvergne,—(see p. 156, note 8,)—was succeeded in the year 989, by his brother *WILLIAM V.*, the common ancestor of the later counts and dauphins of Auvergne. *WILLIAM IX., the Old*, having dispossessed the son of his elder brother (in the year 1156), the county passed into the hands of the younger branch; and in the year 1260, one of that line, *ROBERT V.*, obtained also the county of Boulogne in right of his mother. On the death of Robert's grandson

The Peace of Montmirail was hardly more than a truce. In the summer of the year 1170, Lewis attacked Normandy, because his daughter Margaret, who seems to have been delayed in France by contrary winds, had not been crowned with her husband, when the young English prince was anointed king in his father's lifetime; and in the month of November, Henry II. fruitlessly tried to seize the city of Bourges, on the plea that Berry had formerly belonged to Aquitaine. Some years later, March 1173, when that monarch had received the homage of the count of Toulouse, and had secured the friendship of the king of

ROBERT VII., *the Great*, about the beginning of the year 1326, WILLIAM XIII., the eldest son, succeeded; whose dominions were inherited by his daughter JANE, the queen of John II. of France, and eventually fell to the son of her first marriage, PHILIP *de Rouvre*, also duke of Burgundy and count of Flanders. When Philip de Rouvre died, Auvergne and Boulogne reverted to Robert the Great's second son, JOHN I., the father of JOHN II.; the latter of whom was succeeded, Sept. 1364, by JANE II., his daughter, the wife of John, duke of Berry, one of the brothers of Charles the Wise. Jane dying childless, in the year 1422, her second husband, *George de la Trémoille*, claimed her fiefs by virtue of his marriage contract; but MARY, the widow of *Bertrand de la Tour* and the daughter of *Geoffrey of Boulogne* (a younger son of Robert the Great), whom the late countess had declared her heiress, established herself in Auvergne, while Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, seized Boulogne. The elder branch of the house of La Tour d'Auvergne ended in the daughters of Mary's great grandson JOHN III., the eldest of whom, ANNE, the wife of *John Stewart*, duke of *Albany*, bequeathed Auvergne, June 1524, to CATHERINE DE MEDICIS, the child of her sister *Magdalen*, duchess of *Urbino*: and in the beginning of the next century, Queen Catherine's daughter, MARGARET of *Valois*, bestowed Auvergne upon the DAUPHIN; who, as Lewis XIII., united it to the crown.

The male line of WILLIAM *the Young*—the counts of Clermont and Dauphins of Auvergne—ended, July 1426, in BERALD III.; whose only daughter, JANE, married LEWIS I., count of Montpensier, and thus carried her inheritance into the house of Bourbon-Montpensier.

Arragon and the count of Savoy³, the flight of his eldest son from Limoges to the court of France was the beginning of fresh troubles⁴: the fugitive was speedily joined by his brothers, Richard and Geoffrey, who, like himself, were not contented with titles, but wished to have the sole rule over their domains; and besides his father-in-law the French sovereign, the king of *Scotland* and the counts of Flanders and Boulogne were induced to array themselves on his side. Normandy was invaded by the troops of the league, at Midsummer: but Philip of Flanders retreated when his brother, the count of Boulogne, was killed before Driencourt, July 1173; and although Lewis took and burned a large portion of the stronghold of Verneuil, his men fled like hares when Henry came up with an army of mercenaries⁵; and many of them were slain. The next campaign, the allies had still worse fortune. William of Scotland was taken prisoner at Alnwick; an invasion of England from Flanders was given up; and the king of France and the count of Flanders had to raise the siege of Rouen, Aug. 1174, after a treacherous attempt to storm it during an armistice had failed. The rebels were now willing to come to terms, and peace was restored, on Michaelmas Day, at Montlouis, a place between Tours and Amboise.

³ *Alice*, the eldest daughter (and as yet the heiress) of Humbert III., count of Savoy, was affianced to Henry's younger son John—a match which was broken off by the lady's death.

⁴ The intrigues of the prince and his mother, who had instigated him, had been denounced by the count of Thoulouse. Young Henry, who had lately visited his father-in-law at Paris, had also demanded to have instant possession either of Normandy or England; and he had refused to give up any castles to his brother John when the match with Savoy was being negotiated.

⁵ Brabançons; Brabant being originally the country of the Cotterels and Routiers (*Ruptuarii*), as these fellows were called, because they wore knives, and, when hired, had been disbanded.

Lewis had asserted that a father who had raised his child to the throne, ceased to reign; and yet, when his son Philip entered upon his fifteenth year, Aug. 1179, he decided upon having him crowned. In the midst of the preparations, the prince became dangerously ill; so the ceremony was put off, and the old king went on a pilgrimage to Becket's tomb at Canterbury, to pray for the recovery of his only son. As he was returning home, the right side of his body was stricken with palsy, and he was never himself again: the government thus fell into the hands of Philip, who was now quite well, and was crowned with much splendour at Rheims, on All Saints' Day, Nov. 1179. The pride of that strong-minded youth would not brook the rule of the queen and her brothers; and hence he was led by *Robert Clement of Metz*, the marshal of the palace, to join himself to the count of Flanders, whose niece, *Isabel of Hainault*⁶, he married without saying a word to his mother or his uncles. He and his bride were to be crowned on Whit-Sunday, at Sens, and thither the nobles were summoned: but so much angry feeling had been aroused, that the count of Flanders was alarmed, and by his advice the rite was hurriedly performed at St. Denys, on Ascension Day, May 1180. As it was, there was all but a civil war. While the king's uncle, cardinal *William of Champagne*, the archbishop of *Rheims*⁷, complained to the Pope of the wrong done to his see by the archbishop of *Sens* in the affair; the queen-mother, who had been deprived of her possessions, the count of Blois, and others of the same

⁶ The daughter of the count's sister Margaret, countess of Hainault, who inherited Flanders after his death (see p. 146, note 4).—Margaret's first husband was the leprous count of Vermandais, the last male of his race.

⁷ This prelate, famed for his white hands, was successively bishop of Chartres and archbishop of Sens, and then archbishop of Rheims and cardinal bishop of Sabino.

party, passed over into Normandy to seek help from the king of England. Henry behaved with great moderation. He had an interview with Philip near Gisors, June 1180, and convinced him of the propriety of agreeing to a fair settlement of this family feud.

The days of Lewis VII. were almost numbered. He died in his sixtieth year, Sept. 1180, after causing his gold, and silver, and jewels, and clothing to be given to the poor*.

A. D. 1180. *Philip Augustus.*

1181, 1182. Revolt of the nobles.

1182. The Jews banished.—The Capuchons.

1185. War renewed with Flanders. The Vermandais annexed.

1186. Submission of Hugh of Burgundy. War with England.

1188. Philip and Henry II. take the cross; Saladin tithe.—Richard Cœur de Lion goes over to Philip.

1189. Peace of Colombiers; death of Henry II.—*The Third Crusade.*

1190. Royal courts established. Philip joins the Crusade.

1191. Return of Philip. Prince Lewis inherits Artois.

1193. Philip Augustus invades Normandy. Isemburga divorced.

1194. Richard of England at war with Philip.

1196. Treaty of Galaon. Philip marries Agnes of Merania.

1197. League against Philip. Sieges of Melly and of Arras.

1198. Battle of Gisors. The Jews allowed to return.

1199. Truce with England. Richard dies; war with John.

1200. Treaty of Péronne with Baldwin of Flanders. John makes peace, and cedes Evreux. The Interdict.

1201. Council of Soissons. Death of Agnes of Merania.

1202. War with John renewed.

1203. Murder of Arthur; John's French fiefs forfeited.

1204. *Normandy, Maine, and Anjou conquered.* Poitiers surrenders.

1206. John invades France, and makes a convention.

* The devout king had proposed to Henry II. that they should both go to the Holy Land, Sept. 1177; but his ill health had marred the whole scheme.

A.D. 1208. *Crusade against the Albigenes.*

1209. Ordinance of Villeneuve.—Raymond VI. does penance. Beziers and Carcassonne taken ; Simon de Montfort heads the Crusaders.

1211. Lavaur taken. Montfort raises the siege of Thoulouse. Battle of Castelnaudary.

1213. Philip threatens England with invasion. War with Flanders ; the French fleet destroyed at Damme.—Battle of Muret ; Peter II. of Arragon slain.

1214. Valois annexed. John repulsed. *Battle of Bouvines* and truce with England.

1215. Montfort made count of Thoulouse. Crusade of Prince Lewis.

1216. Prince Lewis invited over into England.

1217. Lewis leaves England. — Raymond VI. returns to Thoulouse.

1218. Simon Montfort slain at the siege of Thoulouse.

1219. Prince Lewis fails against Thoulouse.

1221. Alençon annexed.—Raymond VI. dies.

1223. Death of Philip Augustus.

PHILIP AUGUSTUS, ambitious and enterprising, yet cool-headed and wary, like a second Charlemagne, raised the monarchy of France to a commanding height ; wresting Normandy and several other provinces out of the hands of overgrown vassals, and making the first deep inroads on the Feudal institutions by which the crown had been so weakened. He not only bridled the power of the great chiefs, but also in his own domains he brought every thing under his rule : he established royal courts, June 1190⁹ ; he made ordinances to check sub-infeudations, and to stop the encroachments of the ecclesiastical judges¹ ; he allowed

⁹ See also in the account of the Feudal system, vol. i., p. 209.

¹ By the ordinance of Villeneuve, May 1209, if a fief was divided, each share was to be held direct of the original lord. By another ordinance of uncertain date, no ecclesiastical tribunal was to take cognizance of any feudal causes ; such courts having claimed jurisdiction in all matters pertaining to oaths, in which category the obligations of homage and fealty would be included.

none of his barons to wage private wars, or to set him at defiance; and even the clergy, in all temporal matters, were forced to yield him obedience². He had the wisdom to befriend the interests of the towns, which were now fast rising in importance, and he was careful to have them fortified; especially Paris, which he likewise greatly adorned, and caused its principal streets to be paved. His love of learning he displayed by the privileges which he bestowed upon the university of Paris, of which the scholars and their servants were protected against the outrages of the citizens, and even freed from the jurisdiction of the civil tribunals. In one point, however, he was not in advance of his age. He persecuted heretics, and treated the Jews with the utmost harshness: the latter were robbed and imprisoned without mercy; and to crown their wrongs, their immoveable goods were seized, April 1182, and they were bidden to leave his dominions after Midsummer Day. Towards the end of the century, when he was burthened by the war with Richard of England and his allies, he sold them leave to return.

Philip had not reigned long as sole king, before a league was got up against him by his uncles the archbishop of Rheims and the counts of Blois and of *Sancerre*, which was joined by his half-sister *Mary of Champagne*³, who (having just lost her husband) was regent for her son; by the gallant, but wrong-headed *Hugh III.*, duke of *Burgundy*; and even by the count of Flanders. Attacked all at once by so many of his great vassals, Nov. 1181, he must have been worsted but for the friendship of the crown prince of England; who brought a large body of mercenaries to his

² When the bishops of *Orleans* and *Auxerre* refused, in the year 1209, to send him their contingents, he seized upon their temporalities in spite of an interdict.

³ *Mary*, countess of *Champagne*, was the eldest daughter of *Lewis VII.* by *Eleanor of Guienne*.

aid, and enabled him to ravage Burgundy and Champagne, and the count of Sancerre's lands in Berry : when spring came round, by the advice and mediation of Henry II., whose sympathies were with the confederates, peace was concluded at Senlis.—That monarch was again at feud with Raymond V. of Thoulouse ; who had also an active foe in the king of Arragon ⁴. Owing to the troubles of the times, the country was so overrun with bandit soldiers that one *Durand*, a poor carpenter of Auvergne, gave out that the Virgin had bidden him form brotherhoods to check their outrages. The Pacificators, or *Capuchons* (a name derived from the hoods which they wore), who enrolled themselves in the new association, did their work well ; as was quickly shown in an affair near Châteaudun, in which more than seven thousand armed ruffians fell into their hands ⁵, and were every one of them killed, July 1183.

The second marriage of the count of Flanders ⁶, Aug. 1184, was the source of fresh disputes. He had ceded Amiens to Philip Augustus, and had agreed to hold the rest of the Vermandais, his late wife's inheritance ⁷, as a

⁴ Raymond had for his ally against the kings of England and Arragon, the duke of Burgundy ; who now married *Beatrice* of *Albon*, the widow of his second son *Alberic Taillefer*, and heiress of Dauphiné (A.D. 1183). In order to do this, the duke had divorced *Alice* of *Lorrain*, his former wife.

⁵ They had some help from Philip. In Auvergne, three thousand more were slain.

⁶ He married *Theresa*, afterwards called *Matilda*, the daughter of Alfonso I. of Portugal. After his death, she became the wife of Eudes III. of Burgundy ; but was divorced as being too near of kin.

⁷ The count had wanted to keep the Vermandais, of which he had a donation from his late wife. It was disputed by her sister Eleanor ; who compromised her claims on being allowed to have Valois, but was afterwards induced to transfer them to Philip Augustus. By a treaty which Philip made with her, in the year 1185, Eleanor was to retain Valois for life ; and when she died, June 1214, he accordingly took possession of it.

mortgage redeemable for sixty thousand pounds; having also pledged himself to bequeath this to him at his death, together with Artois, the reversion of which had been settled upon his niece, the queen of France, as her dower: it was now feared that he might break his word, if it should so happen that children were born to him. The king of England once more did his best to preserve peace, and a short truce was even negotiated: but Philip of Flanders could not refrain from an inroad into Hainault, the count of which, though his vassal and brother-in-law, was an ally of the enemy; and in the spring, a French army had gathered together to invade his territories, and to recover Amiens which had revolted. The campaign was opened by the Flemish count; who crossed the Somme and the Oise, and went on ravaging as far as Dammartin, within nine leagues of Paris: in the meanwhile, the king of France marched to Amiens, which he found to be so strong, that he left it alone, and besieged the neighbouring castle of Boves. His adversary, who had turned himself homewards, was hastening to relieve the place, when a treaty was set on foot by the count of Blois and the cardinal of Champagne, his brother; and thus it came to pass that, without any further fighting, Amiens and also the Vermandais (Péronne and St. Quentin excepted) were ceded to Philip Augustus⁶. Hardly was this done, than the duke of Burgundy was taken in hand. Philip went and rescued the beleaguered lord of *Vergy*, who had done homage to him, and had claimed his protection; and the next year, he espoused the cause of the Burgundian bishops⁷, and having reduced and burnt Chatillon on the

⁶ The count may have dreaded the result of a pitched battle, or he may have felt that the cause for which he was fighting against his liege lord was a bad one.

⁷ The plea for interfering was that churches held direct of the crown. In fact, the clergy had always stood up for the rule of the

Seine, and taken *Eudes*, the ducal prince, prisoner, extorted a full submission to his sovereignty. That main point being gained, he thought fit to release the duke from the rest of the terms which had been forced upon him.

This moderation was perhaps owing to the likelihood of a war with England; for the shrewd king had learned the policy of dealing with his vassals singly. Margaret, the widow of Henry Shortmantle,—her husband had died, June 1183, while in rebellion with his brothers against his father,—having lately been married to the king of Hungary, Philip had demanded that the Gisors and the French Vexin, which had once been her dower, should be given back to him; and he had been stirring up Geoffrey, duke of Brittany, to shake off his feudal dependence upon Normandy, and was even harbouring him at Paris at the time of his death, Aug. 1186¹. On the side of Guienne also, a storm was brooding; for the violent and restless Richard² had leagued himself with Alfonso of Arragon against the count of Thoulouse, who was the ally of France. Owing to the misconduct of the Castellan of Gisors, the war broke out on the Norman border; and though hostilities were stopped by a truce, and two conferences were held, fresh fuel was only added to the flame, as Philip insisted that his sister Alice, whom the king of England had under his care and was believed to have seduced, should be married to prince Richard without any further delay. When the summer came round, the French monarch passed into Aquitaine,

Capetian kings, that they might have a protection against the power of the neighbouring nobles.

¹ The death of Geoffrey caused a dispute for the wardship of his daughters, a right which belonged to the lords of ordinary fiefs: but this was settled by the birth of his posthumous son Arthur.

² Richard was hated in Aquitaine. He would carry off the wives and daughters of gentlemen, and, when his lust was sated, hand them over to his comrades.

where he reduced Issoudun, and sat down before Châteaun-roux : thither Henry II. hastened to check his progress ; but finding that he could not rely on his son Richard ³, he asked for a two years' truce, which he purchased by leaving his adversary in possession of Issoudun. In the winter, Jan. 1188, Henry and Philip met at the well-known elm between Gisors and Trie, to settle the terms of a more lasting peace ; yet they could only agree as to taking the cross, which was also received by the counts of Flanders and Blois, by the duke of Burgundy, by *Robert II.*, count of *Dreux*, by *Henry II.*, count of *Champagne*, and many prelates and nobles besides ⁴. The two kings afterwards held assemblies of their vassals in their own dominions, in which the heavy tax, long remembered as the Saladin tithe, was decreed.

The fiery temper of Richard, in a little while, threw every thing again into confusion. Enraged at the arrest of some merchants, his subjects, by the count of Thoulouse, he sallied forth at the head of his mercenaries, took no less than seventeen strongholds in the Quercy, and wasted the open country with fire and sword. The unhappy count was so hard pressed that he called for help on the king of France ; who chose to make Henry himself accountable for the misdeeds of his unruly son, and forthwith seized all his castles in Berry and Auvergne. The injured king gathered together an army in Normandy, about the middle of July ; but as there was a strong feeling against a war thus renewed at the outset of a crusade, fresh conferences

³ Richard's friendship for Philip was undisguised. He was also eager to set out for the Holy Land, having already taken the cross, and he used to say that he would even go barefoot to ask for peace.

⁴ The French had a red, the English a white, and the Flemings a green cross. The birth of his son Lewis, Sept. 1187, had removed Philip's chief objection to joining the crusade.

were held. Two of these, near Gisors, were fruitless⁵; at the third, in November at Bonmoulins, Richard, who had long been jealous of the favour shown to his younger brother John⁶, suddenly forsook his father and knelt down and did homage to the king of France, by whom he was presented with the castles in Berry, and even allowed to keep his conquests in Languedoc. Another meeting, put off until June 1189 by Henry, whose sorrows had preyed upon his health, ended in the refusal of the terms proposed by Philip and Richard; on which they drove him out of the neighbouring town of Mans whither he had betaken himself, and fording the Loire, then at a low ebb owing to drought, stormed Tours, the inhabitants of which had thought to save themselves by destroying the bridge over the river. The people of Britany also rose in arms against the distressed English king; who, as a last hope, bribed the Pope's legate to threaten Philip Augustus with an interdict—a menace which was treated with contempt. There being no help for it, he had an interview with his foe, at Colombiers in the plain of Tours, July 1189, and yielded every thing that was asked⁷. Not a week afterwards, he died at Chinon of a broken heart.

⁵ Philip, in his anger, now rooted up the famous elm tree, which happened to be on his side of the border.

⁶ After the death of prince Henry, Richard, now that he was heir of Normandy and England, had been called upon to give up Guienne to John. He refused, and for some months was involved in a war with his father and his brothers. In the year 1185, he agreed to give up Poitou, but only to his mother.

⁷ Alice was to be placed under the care of one of the barons named by Richard, until he returned from the crusade; and Henry was to renew his homage, and to pay 20,000 marks when the conquered places were restored to him. He was also to renounce all claim on Berry and Auvergne, and to join the crusade the next year.—When he died, Philip said he was no longer bound by the treaty, and claimed the Vexin; but Richard staved off the demand, for the present, by an additional payment of 4000 marks.

It had been settled at Colombiers, that the kings of France and England should join each other as crusaders, the next Lent, at the abbey of Vezelay : this engagement was ratified by Richard, who had succeeded to his father's crown. The illness and death of Philip's wife Elizabeth, March 1190, caused the time of departure to be delayed till Midsummer ; and in the mean while, the bereaved husband put the affairs of his kingdom in order, and appointed as regents his mother and his uncle the cardinal. Having received from the latter the staff and wallet of a pilgrim, at St. Denys, and likewise the Oriflamme from the hands of the abbot ; he then set out for Vezelay, where he was duly met by Richard. As they were to go by sea, they parted at Lyons to meet again in Sicily, Richard embarking at Marseilles and Philip at Genoa. While they were staying in Sicily, they quarrelled^{*} ; nor were they ever friends again, Philip's hatred being heightened by jealousy when he found himself outshone in the Holy Land by his rival, who as a knight and as a general far surpassed him, although he was much his inferior as a king. So keenly indeed did he feel this, that he left the crusade in August, when Acre had fallen ; yet before he sailed for Europe, he swore on the Gospels that he would protect the territories of King Richard in his absence, even as he would his own city of Paris. From this oath he in vain asked the Pope to absolve him, when, after landing at Otranto, he visited Rome as he was on his way through Italy.

When he had returned home, Dec. 1191, his attention

^{*} Richard, who was at feud with the usurper Tancred (see vol. i., p. 197, note 9), accused Philip of treacherously offering to join his foe against him ; Philip taxed him with breaking his promise to his sister. It was at length agreed, March 1191, that Richard should have leave to marry *Berengaria of Navarre*, and also keep Gisors and the Vexin ; but he was to pay 10,000 marks, and give up every thing in Auvergne and Berry.

was called to the settlement of Flanders, Count Philip having died at Acre : he got possession of Artois in right of his son Lewis ; but was forced to let *Baldwin*, count of *Hainault*, have Flanders⁹. Many fiefs also had latterly escheated to the crown, owing to the deaths in Palestine of lords who were childless. He was not, however, so busy as to have forgotten the king of England. Besides blackening his character by the foulest slanders, he spitefully stirred up a revolt in Aquitaine, and likewise tampered in England with Prince John, to whom he now offered the hand of his discarded sister¹. When he heard that the champion of Christendom was languishing as captive in Germany, he wanted to bribe the Emperor not to ransom him ; and he abetted John in his shameless design of usurping the crown and the fiefs of the absent hero, that sorry craven doing him homage and covenanting to give him a large portion of Normandy. Invading the Norman territory, Philip then took Evreux (Feb. 1193), and also several towns and castles ; but when he besieged Rouen, even the women fought against him, and his battering engines being burnt, he was forced to withdraw in confusion. Yet in another inroad, Gisors and the Norman Vexin were reduced. In the mean while, his ally was not at all successful in England, and it was soon seen that he could not be relied on. For John not only fled at once to France, when his brother returned home², March 1194, but to earn his

⁹ Flanders was claimed by Matilda, the late count's widow, as her dower ; and also by Henry the Warlike, duke of Brabant, who had married Matilda of Boulogne, daughter of Matthew of Alsatia. (See p. 180, note 7). Philip wanted to support the dowager against his father-in-law ; but the Flemings stood so firmly by Baldwin, that the king contented himself with demanding a relief of 5000 marks.

¹ Richard having lately declared Arthur of Britany his heir, Philip now offered to guarantee the succession to John.

² "Take care of yourself," wrote Philip to John on this occasion ; "the devil is unchained."

forgiveness, afterwards betrayed to him Evreux : he invited all the French in the garrison to a feast, and had them murdered while they were without their arms³.

In the month of May, Richard crossed over into Normandy, thirsting for vengeance. Yet there were no great battles fought ; for the resources of both kings had been drained by the late crusades, and they were only equal to petty cavalry skirmishes and the capture of ill-defended places. Philip indeed retook Evreux ; but he was worsted elsewhere, and fell at last into an ambuscade, between Blois and Vendôme, in which he lost his money and baggage, and even the title deeds and registers belonging to his crown⁴, July 1194. About a fortnight after this affair, a truce was agreed to on both sides.

Philip, at this time, had launched himself into a sea of troubles. The year before, on the eve of the Assumption of the Virgin, Aug. 1193, he had married, at Amiens, *Isemburga*⁵ of *Denmark* ; and in a few hours, he had taken such a dislike to his bride, although she is said to have been beautiful and good, that nothing but a divorce would satisfy him. And this, at first, had been easily managed. Some time-serving courtiers having come forward, at a council of prelates and nobles at Compiègne, Nov. 1193, to swear that the Danish princess was near of kin to the late queen ; the unhappy marriage had been annulled, *Isemburga* protesting in broken French against a sentence passed on such frivolous grounds⁶. But things became

³ The heads of three hundred knights and squires were stuck on posts all round the town.

⁴ These were then carried about with the king. Philip was thus led to found the royal archives at Paris in which all such deeds were kept safe.

⁵ So she called herself. The French named her *Ingeburge*.

⁶ Hardly able to speak any French, she cried out, when the decree was explained to her, "*Male* (bad) *France ! Male France ! Rome ! Rome !*"

serious, when, with a spirit worthy of her father Waldemar the Great, she refused to be sent home: for while she was placed in a convent, her brother Canute VI. appealed to Rome, and Pope Celestin III. set aside the divorce, and threatened the king of France with excommunication, should he marry another wife. Alarmed at the thunders of the Church, Philip, who was about to unite himself to *Agnes of Merania*⁷, the daughter of Duke Berthold, was at a loss what to do. Pride and passion, however, got the mastery over him, and he openly married Agnes, June 1196,—an act of headlong rashness of which, in the end, he had bitter reason to repent.

The truce with England having expired, the foregoing November, on All Saints' Day, the armies of the rival kings had been arrayed against each other in Berry; but instead of fighting, Richard had had the good sense to renew his homage and to proffer terms of peace. These were settled at another meeting, at Galaon (Jan. 1196), in which Richard ceded Gisors and the Norman Vexin, Philip giving up the rest of his conquests and his claims in Berry and Auvergne⁸.

In April 1196, the powerful Alfonso II. of Arragon breathed his last. Peter II., his eldest son, succeeded him in Arragon, in Roussillon, and in the fiefs and lordships between the Pyrenees and the Rhone⁹; and his second son, another Alfonso II., had Provence as an apanage: these princes were, however, too young to have the influence of their father. And two years before, a change

⁷ She is also called *Mary*, and is so named by Sismondi.

⁸ Alice was also allowed to return home to Philip; who married her to *William*, count of *Ponthieu*.

⁹ The counts of Foix, of Comminges, and of Bigorre, the viscounts of Narbonne and Carcassonne, and the lord of Montpellier, were vassals of the late king.

also had been felt in the south of France, owing to the deaths of *Roger II.*, viscount of *Beziers* and *Carcassonne*¹; of *Ermengarda*, who for fifty years had ably ruled as viscountess of *Narbonne*²; and of *Raymond V.*, so praised as the "good" count of *Thoulouse*. The courts of these remarkable persons might have been called the homes of the *Troubadours*, those celebrated poets of Lan-

¹ *Carcassonne*, of which the county of *Foix* was an offshoot, had been a *county* from the beginning of the ninth century. It was sold to the counts of *Barcelona*, in the year 1067, by *ERMENGARDA*, viscountess of *Alby*, *Nismes*, and *Beziers*, who had just inherited it from her brother; yet, in the year 1083, her son *BERNARD-ATTO* recovered the useful domain, styling himself *viscount*. *RAYMOND-TRENCARVEL I.*, his second son, was murdered in a church, Oct. 1167, by some of the burgesses of *Beziers*; but the next viscount, *ROGER II.*, avenged the death of his father by treachery when force had failed. Having sworn to forgive the town, he was enabled to bring into it, in small parties at a time, a number of *Arragonese* soldiers; who, at the end of the year 1169, suddenly rose and killed all the males but the Jews, and repopled the city by marrying their wives and daughters. Each of the new families thus comfortably settled, had to pay a quit-rent of three pounds of pepper yearly. Roger's grandson *RAYMOND-TRENCARVEL II.* was finally stripped of his dominions by *Lewis VIII.*, in the year 1226, during the war of the *Albigenses*; and in the year 1247, he ceded all his rights to *St. Lewis*, and was rewarded with a rent of 600 livres.

² The dynasty of viscounts of *Narbonne*, which began in the year 978, ended in *ERMENGARDA*. Two years before her death, being childless by her Spanish husband *Alfonso*, she had bestowed her dominions on her sister's son *Peter de Lara*; whose last descendant *WILLIAM II.* fell at *Verneuil*, Aug. 1424, and was succeeded at his own bequest by his uterine half-brother *Peter of Tinières*, who styled himself *WILLIAM III.* That viscount sold the fief, Dec. 1447, to *GASTON (IV.)*, count of *Foix* and afterwards king of *Navarre*; who assigned it, June 1468, to his second son *JOHN*. By *GASTON II.*, *John's* son and the hero of the battle of *Ravenna*, *Narbonne* was exchanged for the duchy of *Nemours*, Nov. 1507; and in May 1508, it was united to the crown of France.

guedoc and Provence, whose "gay science" was then in its palmy days³.

The peace which had been made at Galaon, did not last many months. Towards the fall of the year, Philip had taken some of Richard's castles; and the latter king, as he was girding himself for the struggle, had changed *Raymond VI.*, the new count of *Thoulouse*, from a foe into a staunch ally, by restoring the Quercy and giving him in marriage his sister Jane, the queen dowager of Sicily⁴. The league thus begun was joined by Baldwin IX., count of Flanders, who wanted to recover Artois; and then by *Reginald of Dammartin*, count of *Boulogne*, *Theobald III.*, count of *Champagne* (whose elder brother had died in the Holy Land), *Lewis*, count of *Blois*, and young Arthur of Britany. In the spring, John Lackland and the troops in Richard's pay ravaged the Beauvaisis; and thus it happened that *Philip of Dreux*, the warlike bishop of *Beauvais*, hastened to the rescue of the town of Milly, and became the prisoner of *Marchade*, the bold and dashing leader of the mercenaries⁵, May 1197. Somewhat later, the count of Flanders besieged Arras: but about the middle of August, he was

³ The Troubadours had become numerous in the early part of the twelfth century. William IX. of Aquitaine and his great grandson Richard I. of England were brethren of the craft. In the next century, Thoulouse was depressed by the crusade against the Albigenses, and the court of Provence was removed to Naples; and thus the quaint and sentimental muse of the south of France died away for want of encouragement.

⁴ He also renounced all claim to Thoulouse.—To marry Jane, Raymond had to divorce his wife *Burgundia* of *Lusignan*, a princess of Cyprus (see p. 158, note 8).

⁵ As the bishop had been Philip's envoy in Germany when Richard was a captive, he was kept heavily chained in a dungeon of the castle of Rouen. Pope Celestin having written to Richard to have pity on "his dear son the bishop of Beauvais;" that king sent him the prelate's coat of mail with this scroll attached to it:—"Know now, whether this be thy son's coat or no!"

driven away by Philip Augustus ; who, however, had the rashness to follow his flying enemy into a country intersected by countless canals. The bridges before and behind him were now broken down ; so that he could neither advance nor go back, and the only way by which he could get out of the scrape, was by signing a treaty in which he promised to yield every thing that was asked. But when once he was free again, not one of his fine promises did he keep !

The next year, the league against him was renewed and extended, and the count of Flanders besieged St. Omers. The place yielded at the end of about a month, as he could not save it ; and in September, Philip had also the mishap of being beaten by Richard in a sharp cavalry skirmish, near Gisors : the bridge over the Epte breaking under the weight of the routed horsemen as they fled into the town, he himself fell into the water, and most of his knights were taken prisoners. Feebly as the war was waged, hideous was the cruelty displayed by both kings, and heavy were the burthens laid upon their subjects : at length this useless waste of blood and money was forbidden by Pope Innocent III., and on St. Hilary's Day, Jan. 1199, at a conference in the presence of Cardinal Peter of Capua, his legate, a five years' truce was sworn to⁶. But it already seemed on the eve of being broken, when Richard lost his life by an arrow shot from the castle of Chaluz, April 1199.

On the death of the English hero, the boy Arthur of Britany was at once acknowledged as his heir by the lords of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, the old domains of the Plantagenets. But Richard's brother John, after securing the castle of Chinon and the treasure in it, hastened with Marchades into these provinces and sacked Mans and Angers, destroying the walls and houses, and even selling

⁶ The kings met somewhere between Andely and Vernon ; Richard being in a boat on the Seine, and Philip on horseback, on the right bank of the river.

the townsmen for slaves; and thence, contented for the present with thus wreaking his vengeance, he rode away to Rouen, and was invested by the archbishop with the ducal coronet and sword of Normandy. Poitou and Guienne also fell into his power, being transferred to him by his aged mother; and on Ascension Day, May 1199, he was crowned as king of England. Constance of Britany, then at Tours with her son⁷, was so affrighted at this success, that she betook herself, as a last hope, to Philip Augustus (who had already broken the truce and reduced Evreux): into his hands she put Arthur, and French garrisons were admitted into the towns and castles in the Angevin territories which held out against the usurper. But the king's barefaced selfishness⁸ quickly damped the zeal of Arthur's best friends; and thus his operations were crippled, and he was rather losing ground, when, in October, he signed an armistice which was an opening to fresh negotiations. With Baldwin of Flanders, who had allied himself with John, he had a conference at Péronne, Feb. 1200, and now finally secured Artois to his crown; all but the fiefs of Ardres and Guines, and the towns of Aire and St. Omers, which were given up to the count. And on Ascension Day, in May, he concluded another treaty with the king of England, in which both the parties abandoned their allies⁹, and the

⁷ This lady, who by her petulance had lost for her son the favour of Richard, had married *Ranulf*, earl of *Chester*, about two years before; but having got a divorce, she was rushing into the arms of a third husband, Guy of Thouars, the brother of a Poitevin viscount.

⁸ Finding that Philip meant to weaken Britany by dismantling the castles which had revolted, *William des Roches*, the faithful seneschal of Anjou, actually fled with Arthur to the court of John. But in a few hours, he carried him back in haste; having discovered that the treacherous uncle was about to shut up his nephew in a prison which would also have been his grave.

⁹ John even engaged to give no more help to his nephew, the Emperor Otho IV.

rights of Arthur were shamelessly bought and sold. John was declared to be his brother's heir, and his helpless nephew was forced to do homage to him for Britany : but he had to pay 20,000 marks as the relief for his succession ; and though he recovered the Vexin, he ceded Evreux (the owner of which was his vassal)¹, and all his fiefs in Berry were to be the dower of his niece *Blanche* of *Castille*, whom Lewis, the crown prince of France, was to marry.

During these transactions, Philip had much to do at home : for Innocent III. had taken up the cause of Isemburga, and at a council held by Peter of Capua at Vienne², Jan. 1200, his dominions were laid under an interdict. In vain did the king banish the clergy and seize their goods ;—even those who hesitated to obey the decree, had to yield to the energy of the Pope, who at once suspended them, and obliged them to go and do penance at Rome : the censures of the Church were upheld by public opinion, and were therefore irresistible. Except to crusaders and to the dying, all the rites of religion were forbidden : no bride could be married³, no corpse could be borne out of the house to Christian burial. The cry of the people became so great that the pride of Philip quailed before it ; and as the Pope would listen to no other terms, he brought home Isemburga, whom in his rage he had thrown into prison, and he put away Agnes with much grief of heart. The interdict was then taken off, Sept. 1200, and he was allowed to sue for a divorce at a council

¹ For the Norman counts of Evreux, see p. 166, note 6.

² The council first met, in December, at Dijon ; but it was thought better to remove it to Dauphiné, in the imperial territory. Philip's commissaries wanted to refer the matter to Rome ; but sentence was given without noticing their appeal, and persons who had lately taken the cross were alone exempted from the interdict.

³ Even the crown prince had to go out of his father's territory to be married to Blanche.

which was to meet at Soissons in Midlent. He had strong hopes of at length gaining his point with the papal court by engaging to forsake the cause of Philip of Swabia for that of Otho : but when he appeared before the council, March 1201, the envoys of the king of Denmark cast in his teeth the oaths which he had taken ; and in the whole of the proceedings, he cut so sorry a figure that it was more than his haughty spirit could brook ⁴. Without waiting for the sentence, he suddenly left the town, carrying Isemburga with him, and peevishly sending word to the astonished prelates that they might go whenever they liked, as he did not mean to put away his wife. He shut her up in a castle, and for many years was not even outwardly reconciled to her, although the Pope remonstrated and Agnes was no longer alive. That woman had died a little while after the council was dissolved ; and to the indignation of the French lords, her two children, one of whom was a boy named *Philip*, were legitimated by the politic Innocent.

John of England had also divorced his wife, and had since married the beautiful *Isabel* of *Angoulême* ⁵, the

⁴ The Danish envoys and the queen appealed against *Octavian*, cardinal bishop of *Ostia*, the presiding legate, charging him with partiality. When the sessions were resumed, on the arrival of his colleague, the cardinal *John* of *St. Paul*, no one appeared on the queen's behalf ; but a poor and unknown clerk rose up and begged leave to plead her cause, which he did most unanswerably.

⁵ The counts of Angoulême were descended from WULGRIN (Wolf-grim), to whom Charles the Bald gave the counties of Périgord and Angoulême, in the year 866. Wulgrin was succeeded in Angoulême by his elder son ALDUIN ; and in the Périgord, by his younger son *William*, A.D. 886. Alduin's son WILLIAM I., who was called *Taillefer* (a name which was also borne by his descendants), from the way in which he cut down a Norman sea-king through his coat of mail, left only bastards when he died, Aug. 962 ; on which the children of his cousin *Bernard*, count of *Périgord*, seized his dominions, and kept them until the eldest of them died, when the rest were overpowered by ARNULF *Manzer* (the Bastard), Taillefer's son, in the year 975.

affianced bride of *Hugh of Lusignan*⁶, heir to the county of Marche, Aug. 1200. The disappointed lover did not bear

The last male of Manzer's dynasty, which lasted nearly two centuries and a half, was *ATMAR* ; who established himself in the county, though stoutly opposed by *Matilda*, his elder brother's only daughter, also countess of *Marche* in right of her great-grandmother *Pontia*. He was once driven out and his capital taken, July 1194, by Richard of England ; but he was restored by a treaty in which he agreed to espouse his daughter *ISABELLA* to Matilda's son *HUGH* of *Lusignan*. Although *Isabella* was carried off by John of England, the marriage took place after all, in the year 1217, when she had become a widow ; and on the death of her father, about a twelvemonth afterwards, Angoulême was united to the county of Marche. It was confiscated in the beginning of the fourteenth century ; and in the next, it was bestowed upon *LEWIS*, duke of Orleans, and became the appanage of his second son *JOHN*, whose grandson ascended the French throne as *FRANCIS I.*, Jan. 1515.

Périgord, the county of Wulgrin's second son, *WILLIAM*, was inherited by the above-mentioned *BERNARD*, in whose children his male line ended. *Boso I.*, *the Old*, count of Marche, then succeeded in right of his wife *Emma*, William's daughter, July 975 ; and after his death, his son *ALDEBERT I.* had Périgord and Upper Marche, while *Boso II.*, another son, had Lower Marche. The two brothers being dead, about the year 1006, it was settled by arbitration that *HÉLIE II.*, *Boso's* son, should have Périgord, and that the heir of *Aldebert* should possess both the Marches. From *Hélie's* descendant *HÉLIE V.*, surnamed *Taleyrand*, sprang the branch of the lords of Grignols, afterwards the princes of Chalais and of Taleyrand ; but his elder line ended in *ARCHIBALD* (*Archambaud*) *VI.*, who was exiled by a sentence of parliament, June 1399, and the county of Périgord confiscated. It was granted to *LEWIS*, duke of Orleans ; whose son *CHARLES* sold it to the younger *JOHN* of *Blois*, viscount of Limoges, March 1437. John's brother and successor *WILLIAM*, who died in the year 1455, was the father of *FRANCES*, the wife of *ALAN D'ALBRET* ; and from the *D'Albrets*, Périgord and the Limousin passed by marriage to the *Bourbons*, and were united to the crown by the accession of *HENRY IV.*, in the year 1589.

⁶ About the middle of the tenth century, *Boso I.*, *the Old*, count of Charraux, styled himself count of Marche, a province which was divided into Upper and Lower, the capitals of each being Guéret and

his loss meekly ; for his union with the heiress of Angoulême was to have peaceably given him the reversion of a

Bellac. He became also count of Périgord, which his son ALDEBERT afterwards held with Upper Marche, Lower Marche being inherited by Boso II. By the arbitration in the year 1006, as was told in the preceding note, Aldebert's son BERNARD I. became count of the whole of La Marche, and did not inherit Périgord : he was the father of ALDEBERT III. and of *Almodis*, the wife of *Hugh V. of Lusignan* and Pontius of Thoulouse (by both of whom she was divorced), and also of Raymond-Berenger I., count of Barcelona. Boso III., the son of Aldebert III., was slain in the year 1091, and was succeeded by his sister, another ALMODIS, and her husband ROGER DE MONTGOMERY, earl of Lancaster. The earl, who was driven out of England, in the year 1102, by king Henry I., had also a long war for his French county with *Hugh VI. of Lusignan*, the son of his wife's aunt : his great grandson ADELBERT V., being hard-pressed by the Lusignans and the English, sold what remained of his dominions to the latter, Dec. 1177, and afterwards died on his way to the Holy Land. By Richard of England, then duke of Aquitaine, the county was given to MATILDA of Angoulême, in right of her descent from Pontia, the daughter of Roger by Almodis ; and he even seems to have thought at one time of becoming her husband : but HUGH (IX.) of *Lusignan* (son of *Hugh VIII., le Brun*, which surname stuck to the family) held his own against her, until she agreed to marry him. Hugh at last withdrew into a monastery, not long before the death of his wife ; who, in the year 1208, was succeeded by her son HUGH (X.), whose first love Isabel of Angoulême married him when King John had left her a widow, thus enabling him to inherit Angoulême, about a twelvemonth afterwards, in the year 1218. By Isabel, who for her violence was called Jezebel, Hugh X. had nine children. His great grandson HUGH (XIII.) died childless, Nov. 1304 ; on which a will which bequeathed his fiefs to a cousin was burnt by his brother GUY, and the latter took the title of count, but was heavily fined by Philip the Fair, and made to resign every thing. Philip also induced the sisters of the two brothers to transfer their rights to him.—La Marche was given by Philip the Long to his brother CHARLES *the Fair*, March 1317 ; and Charles, in the year 1327, assigned it to LEWIS (I.), duke of Bourbon, whose younger son JAMES I. inherited it as an appanage, Jan. 1342. When the eccentric JAMES II., James's grandson and the titular king of Naples, became an Observantine friar, BERNARD of

county which his mother had long claimed as her rightful inheritance : so with *Guy V.* and *Aymar*, the viscounts of *Limoges* and *Thouars*, he rose in arms against the prince who had wronged him ; and when he got the worst of it, he appealed to Philip Augustus as their common sovereign. Philip did not befriend him openly, at first, and even renewed his engagements with John : finding, however, that that weak king was greatly hated, he was emboldened, in the year 1202, to summon him to Paris, to do homage at Easter-tide for Aquitaine, and to answer at his court to any charges which might be brought against him. Although, after some demur⁷, John promised to come, either his pride or his fears hindered him ; on which Philip invaded Normandy, and not only took several castles, but received Arthur's homage for Britany⁸, Poitiers, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, July 1202, arming him knight, and bestowing on him the hand of his little daughter *Mary*, then about six years old : his boy son-in-law, who now styled himself duke of Aquitaine, was to give him in return whatever he should conquer in Normandy, even the whole duchy ; and he was also to sacrifice much of his feudal independence. This dearly-bought alliance did poor Arthur no good. While he and the rebel lords were besieging Eleanor of England, his grandmother, in the castle of Mirabeau in Poitou ; his uncle John fell suddenly upon them all, Aug.

Armagnac, the husband of his daughter *Eleanor*, succeeded to the county ; and when it was forfeited by Bernard's unfortunate son, JAMES, duke of Nemours, July 1477, it was bestowed on PETER of *Beaujeu*, afterwards duke of Bourbon. The Bourbons lost it when, after the death of the Constable CHARLES, it was confiscated to the crown by the parliament, July 1527.

⁷ As duke of Normandy, John was only bound to meet the king on the frontier ; but as count of Anjou and Poitiers, he was not allowed to have this privilege by Philip.

⁸ Thus becoming his *immediate* lord.—Constance had died in the fall of the year 1101, and Arthur was now fifteen years old.

1202, and routed them : many were slain, and among the prisoners were the count of Marche, the viscounts of Limoges and Thouars, and Arthur himself. The cowardly conqueror is accused of having starved to death at Corfe Castle twenty-two captive knights of lesser mark ; and he was believed in the spring to have stabbed his nephew with his own hands, at the tower of Rouen in Holy Week (April 1203), and to have thrown his dead body into the Seine *. Arthur's sister *Eleanor*, the "maid of Britany," was carried to England, where for the rest of her life she was kept strictly guarded.

When Philip heard of the rout of his allies at Mirabeau, he raised the siege of Arques and retreated from Normandy ; and though he turned again, and advanced as far as Tours, he set fire to that city and retraced his steps. But the tide of affairs changed quickly in his favour, when Arthur had been foully murdered. The indignant prelates and barons of Britany gathered together at Vannes ; and having given the charge of the duchy to the widower *Guy* of *Thouars*, who had carried *Alice*, his daughter by *Constance*, in his arms into the meeting, they sent the bishop of *Rennes* to Paris, to cry aloud for justice against the English king. Philip readily summoned John as his vassal to be tried before the court of the French peers ; for he was too quick-sighted to miss so good an opening for extending the sway of the crown. Every thing turned out as he had hoped. The dastard murderer, being afraid to come and plead †,

* His silence shows that the young prince met with foul play.

† When John afterwards demanded restoration of his territories, offering to come and plead if he could only have a safe conduct ; Philip said that he might come in peace, but swore by all the saints of France that he should not return unless acquitted. Philip's exercise of sovereignty does not seem to have been questioned, although, on the old feudal principles, it was certainly a stretch of power. For as Britany was a fief of Normandy, he had no right to interfere between John and his vassals.

was by the peers "found guilty of felony and treason, and adjudged to forfeit all the lands which he held by homage."

Without waiting till the slow forms of justice were completed, Philip had already joined the lords of Britany in invading Poitou, when he heard that *Robert III.*, count of *Alençon*, had risen in Normandy, and was then besieged in his castle. Thither he resolved to hasten; and having no time to raise an army, he went to a tournament at Moret, and got the knights who were there to leave the lists and follow him. Having rescued the count and received his homage, he sat down, Sept. 1203, before Andely and its stronghold, the most important of which, the *Château Gaillard*, only fell after it had been obstinately held for more than five months by *Roger de Lacy*, the constable of Chester: a bold, but fruitless attack, made by the earl of *Pembroke* to relieve the place, was the last effort of John; who, instead of taking the field himself, had spent his days in revelry at Rouen, until the approach of danger had driven him away to England. There indeed the recreant king levied a great feudal array; but when it had mustered at Portsmouth, April 1204, his barons one and all refused to embark for France. Even the help of the Pope, who tried to stop his foes by threatening another interdict, could do nothing for him². The second campaign was decisive. Falaise, Caen, and a number of important towns opened their gates to Philip, while his ally Guy of Thouars reduced the fortress of St. Michael's Mount, and sacked Avranches; and though the citizens of Rouen were true to their old feelings of hatred to the French, even they agreed to surrender when invested by the king, should no peace be con-

² The clergy of France were loyal to Philip, and the duke of Burgundy and several other vassals engaged to stand by him, against the Pope.

cluded or no succour reach them within thirty days, June 1204³. Besides Normandy, the English irrecoverably lost Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, that summer; and in Poitou, the city of Poitiers and other towns and castles were conquered from them.

More than a twelvemonth after these heavy losses, John's hopes were somewhat rekindled, when the viscount of Thouars turned against Philip in Poitou, his brother Guy following his example in Britany. In the beginning of the year 1206, Philip having marched into Britany, Guy was forced to drop the title of duke, and was only to be regent for Alice; who was placed by her subjects under the protection of France: but about Midsummer, John landed at Rochelle with a fine army, and the men of Poitou flocked to his standard. He advanced into Aquitaine, where he took the town and the strong castle of Montauban, into which the disaffected had fled for shelter; and returning thence, he overran Poitou and Anjou, and had once more the pleasure of burning Angers. But when Philip had come forth with his troops from Paris, he slunk away and let him ravage the lands of the viscount of Thouars; being content to make a convention, Oct. 1206, by which there was to be a truce for two years, and he was to keep whatever then belonged to him on the south of the river Loire⁴. Thus most of Poitou was still his, as well as Aquitaine. The king of France strengthened himself in his newly-conquered territory, and also affianced Alice of Thouars to *Henry*, the heir to the county of *Penthièvre*;

³ Philip confirmed their immunities, and he also allowed the customs and laws of Normandy to remain.

⁴ By this convention, which was signed near Thouars, John gave up all the lands and vassals which still remained to him in Normandy, Maine, Britany, and all that part of Anjou and Touraine which was north of the Loire.

which engagement, in the end, he broke, marrying her to *Peter Mauclerc*, a younger son of Robert II., count of Dreux. Before he received his bride, Peter Mauclerc had to do homage-liege for Britany⁵, Jan. 1213; yet, in

⁵ PETER MAUCLERC also became earl of Richmond in England, in right of his wife; but it was confiscated, in the year 1234, when he renounced his homage to Henry III. and submitted to St. Lewis, against whom he had rebelled. He was called *Mauclerc* (the bad clerk), because he had not chosen to take orders, though brought up for the Church; or, perhaps, because he was bent on breaking the power of the clergy. Equally jealous of his nobles, he deprived Henry, count of Penthievre, of most of his lands, and gave his county as a dower to his own daughter *Violante*, the wife of Hugh XI., count of Marche. In the year 1237, he resigned his dominions to his son John; and as the knight Peter de Braine, he afterwards went on two crusades, being at last taken prisoner in Egypt with St. Lewis. He died at sea, on his return from Egypt, May 1250. JOHN I., *the Red*, got the earldom of Richmond restored to his eldest son, who had married a daughter of King Henry: he also seized the county of Penthievre after his sister's death, in the year 1272, although she had left children. JOHN II., the husband of *Beatrice of England*, was created duke and peer of France—the first instance of the kind—by Philip the Fair, Sept. 1297. (The earlier dukes of Britany were oftener called counts than dukes.) ARTHUR II., John's son, married two heiresses—*Mary*, the daughter of Guy IV., count of Limoges, and Queen *Violante*, widow of *Alexander III.* of Scotland, and daughter of Robert III., count of Dreux, and in right of her mother *Beatrice*, countess of *Montfort l'Amaury*: by the former of these, he was the father of JOHN III., *the Good*, and of Guy, count of Penthievre; and by the latter, he had John, count of Montfort.

On the death of John III., April 1341, there was a war of succession. Though thrice married, he had no legitimate children; so the duchy was claimed by CHARLES of Blois, the husband of his niece, JANE *the Lame* (Guy of Penthievre's daughter), and by his half-brother, the count of Montfort, JOHN IV. Notwithstanding the death of the latter, Sept. 1345, the war continued until Charles of Blois was killed at Auray, Sept. 1364; soon after which, the son of the deceased Montfort, JOHN V., *the Valiant*, was acknowledged

after times, the dukes of his dynasty contended that they only owed simple homage, and, though liable to forfeiture, could not have their persons attached for felony.

When John of England had quarrelled with Pope Innocent, and his subjects had been absolved from their allegiance, and all Christian princes and barons had been called upon to join together and dethrone him; Philip Augustus readily came forward, and prepared to seize his kingdom. The States of France were convened at Soissons, April 1218; and in this assembly, which was attended by the duke of Burgundy and a great number of nobles, he pleased the clergy and people by announcing his reconciliation with Isemburga, and prevailed upon his vassals to pledge themselves to aid him. In the month

as duke by Charles the Wise in the treaty of Guérande, April 1365. Limoges, however, as well as Penthhièvre, remained in the possession of Jane the Lame and her family.

John V.'s duchy was afterwards confiscated, Dec. 1378; but he recovered it, and he again made peace with Charles V. at Guérande, Jan. 1381. He was succeeded, Nov. 1399, by JOHN VI., *the Wise and the Good*, his eldest son by his third wife, *Jane of Navarre* (the daughter of Charles the Bad, and eventually the second wife of Henry IV. of England); and after John VI., came FRANCIS I., and then PETER II., his children. The last of these dying, Sept. 1457, the second son of John V., the famous count of Richemont (Richmond) and constable, ARTHUR III., became duke of Brittany; and when he also died, Dec. 1458, his nephew FRANCIS II. (the child of *Richard*, count of *Estampes*, the fourth son of John V.) reigned after him. Francis II. was succeeded, Sept. 1488, by his daughter ANNE OF BRITANY, the queen of Charles VIII. and of Lewis XII. of France; and by the second of these kings, Anne had a daughter named CLAUDE, who was married to Francis I. After the death of Claude, July 1524, her husband, by whom she had several children, took possession of Brittany, which he subsequently caused to be irrevocably united to the crown of France, Aug. 1532.

of May, a fleet had been gathered together⁶, and a large host was encamped near Boulogne; when *Pandulf*, the Pope's legate, suddenly put a stop to the whole undertaking, bringing word that John had submitted, and was the vassal of the Holy See. Philip was most unwilling to have his prey thus snatched from his grasp; but he saw that there was no help for it. The provinces which had been conquered from England, were disaffected; many of his feudatories looked with jealousy upon the growth of his power; and *Ferrand of Portugal*, who, by his marriage with the elder daughter of Baldwin of Constantinople, had lately become count of *Flanders* and *Hainault*⁷, dared even to say to his face, that he, for one, would not follow his lord in any unjust expedition. The king turned his rage against the count, whom he commanded to leave his court, swearing moreover "by all the saints of France," that "either France should become Flanders, or Flanders France;" nor had he much difficulty in getting his nobles to join with him in attacking a rich country in which there was plenty to pillage. While the fleet sailed from Calais, and reduced Gravelines and Damme, the French troops spread like locusts over the Flemish plains; Ypres, Cassel, and Bruges opened their gates, and the proud city of Ghent was threatened. But Philip then heard that Damme was beset by *Ferrand* himself, and that most of his ships had been destroyed in the roadstead by the English fleet under *William Longsword*, earl of *Salisbury*, and *Reginald of Dammartin*,

⁶ The month before, a squadron had been captured at the mouth of the Seine by the English fleet; which had also destroyed the ships at Fecamp, and burnt Dieppe.

⁷ *Ferrand* was the declared ally of John. He bore a grudge against Philip because Aire and St. Omers had been taken from him at the time of his marriage by the crown prince; and he had either refused to attend at Soissons, or had left the meeting in anger.

the rebel count of Boulogne⁸; so he broke up in haste from Ghent, and came in time to save his garrison and to drive the English off the shore. After he had burnt the rest of his fleet, which was blocked up within the harbour, and set fire to the town, he withdrew towards Ghent: his foes were masters of the sea, and he could not hope to keep his conquests. On his way homewards, Ghent, Oudenarde, Courtray, Douay, and Lisle, yielded with little or no resistance; yet he extorted heavy contributions from them, and Lisle was left a mere heap of ashes, its inhabitants being either wantonly slaughtered or sold for slaves. The walls of Cassel were also razed to the ground.

King John would have avenged himself and his allies, that summer, by invading France; but his barons had refused at Portsmouth to embark with him. The next year, however, he passed over to Rochelle, Feb. 1214, and being once more joined by the lords of Poitou, he crossed the Loire, entered Angers, and marched on nearly as far as Nantes in Brittany: there he took *Robert III.*, count of *Dreux*, prisoner, but retraced his steps rather than fight the army of the crown prince Lewis⁹. As for Philip, he was preparing to withstand a more formidable danger which was about to burst upon him from the North. The Emperor Otho IV., John's nephew, with Henry, duke of Brabant

⁸ Reginald of Dampierre count of Dammartin, who was count of Boulogne in right of his marriage with Ida of Alsatia (see p. 180, note 7), was for the third time at war with Philip. When at feud with the warlike bishop of Beauvais, in the year 1212, he had not consented to place his fortresses in the king's hands and to submit to the judgment of the French peers; and so his dominions were attacked, and he had fled, after renouncing his five counties that he might be free to fight against his liege lord. He had since gone to the court of John, his ally, and publicly done homage to him.

⁹ Yet Lewis himself was fleeing back, until he found that his adversary was more afraid than he was!

and count of Louvain¹, *Henry I.*, duke of *Limburg*, and *William I.*, count of *Holland*, had leagued themselves with the counts of *Flanders* and *Boulogne* and the earl of *Salisbury*, to attack him, and a hundred thousand men were said to be in arms. Nothing dismayed, he called together the bravest of his chivalry and even the trainbands of the free communities, and was the first in the field. He entered *Flanders* in July, and was wasting the lands around him with fire and sword, when he fell in with his foes at *Bouvines*, a village on the *Marque*, between *Lisle* and *Tournay*, and won a most brilliant victory. In that hard-fought battle, he himself had been dragged from his horse, and well-nigh overpowered; but *Otho* had fled at last, after having had three chargers killed under him, and the counts of *Flanders* and *Boulogne* and *William Longsword* were taken prisoners². The revived monarchy of *France* had been saved from dismemberment, and *John's* last hopes were baffled, and his allies ruined. He ingloriously signed a truce for five years, Sept. 1214; his nephew, the Emperor, sank into insignificance; the count of *Boulogne* died a captive, his fief being in the hands of the king's son *Philip*, the husband of his daughter; and *Ferrand*, who had been brought wounded to *Paris* in a horse-litter to swell the triumph of his conqueror, was kept for many years in prison, as his wife either could not or would not ransom him³. The viscount of *Thouars* and a number of lords were prudently forgiven.

¹ *Henry I.* (or *II.*) of *Brabant* was *Philip's* own son-in-law, having lately married *Mary*, the countess-dowager of *Namur*, daughter of *Agnes* of *Merania*. *Matilda* of *Boulogne* was dead (see p. 195, note 9).

² *Longsword* was knocked down by the mace of the warlike bishop of *Beauvais*, and the count of *Boulogne* surrendered to the bishop-elect of *Senlis*. The count might have escaped; but as he had been called a coward for hesitating to fight on a Sunday (July 27), he

...not flee. *Longsword* was exchanged for the count of *Dreux*.

...not *Philip* to take off the confiscation which he had decreed

The truce had scarcely lasted a twelvemonth, when the barons who had risen for their rights and liberties against John offered the crown of England to Prince Lewis. It was hoped that the French mercenaries in the pay of the tyrant would never fight against the son and heir of their own sovereign; nor was it forgotten that the wife of Lewis was a daughter of an English princess. The offer was joyfully accepted. Troops were sent over, and the barons were told that, after Easter, the prince himself would follow with an army; but the Pope was highly offended⁴, and his legate *Gualo* (Walter), cardinal priest of St. Martin's, did his utmost, when passing through France, to stop the undertaking. At Melun, April 1216, Philip, alarmed by threats of excommunication, referred the question to the assembled peers; on which his son got up and said to him, "Sir, I am your liegeman for the fiefs which you have given me, but with the kingdom of England you can have no concern; and I put it to the judgment of my peers whether you ought to prevent me." Without waiting for an answer to this protest, which seems to have been concerted with his

against Flanders, and took care to ransom *Arnulf* of *Oudenarde*, owing to whom her reputation was not a little singed.—When Ferrand entered Paris, the gibing people cried out, "*Deux ferrants* (Arab steeds) *portent Ferrant, mais Ferrant est enferré.*"

⁴ It was asserted by the agents of Lewis at the court of Rome, that John had been attainted of treason before he ascended the throne, and that he had since been found guilty of felony and murder by the French peers; that Geoffrey, duke of Britany, and Matilda, duchess of Saxony, were dead when their brother was condemned, and that their issue (as well as his own children, who were born afterwards) had lost the right of succession; and that though the queen of Castille was living, and Blanche was not the eldest of her offspring, the latter might put in her claim as long as the nearer heirs were silent. But it was not the interest of the Pope to listen to this sophistry.

father, Lewis then left the court, and prepared to embark for England: thither he arrived in the course of the next month, notwithstanding a storm which scattered his fleet, and in London he was received with open arms. The sentence of excommunication, which was fulminated against him, was little heeded; and when Philip was to have shared the same fate⁵, the French bishops refused, in a synod at Melun, to carry out the mandate of Innocent, whom they declared to have been misinformed. Yet, though the invasion prospered for a while, things changed when the English barons found out that a foreign master would favour his own countrymen, and when John, the object of their hatred, was no more; so at last a fleet, which Blanche had sent to the aid of her husband, having been utterly defeated, a treaty was concluded, Sept. 1217, in which the claim to the throne of England was renounced. An amnesty, however, was honourably secured for the adherents of Lewis, who is even said to have promised to try and get his father to restore the whole of his late conquests⁶. As the price of absolution from the Pope, he had, for two years, to give the tenth of his income for the defence of the Holy Land; a twentieth was also exacted from the laymen who had sided with him, and the clergy were either deprived or subjected to heavy fines and penances.

All this while, a long and bloody war had been raging in Languedoc, where the difference of language and laws still kept the people apart from the northern French. This was the Crusade against the Albigenses, a name which has been indiscriminately given to the heretics who

⁵ The archbishop of Sens had been commanded to excommunicate his sovereign.

⁶ If Lewis made any such promise, it was a secret one, and never

then swarmed in the south of France⁷, but properly belongs only to those whose belief was tainted with Mani-

⁷ In the twelfth century, a number of sects, more or less Manichean, had spread over Germany, Flanders, Lorrain, Switzerland, France, Spain, and Italy: these were known by such names as Catharists, Picards, Paterins, and Albigenses (Albigensis, from the district of Alby, in the south of France); and, in spite of the wildness of some of their opinions, there seems to have been much purity of life among them. Their Manicheism was derived from the Paulicians (so named from their admiration of St. Paul's writings), whose Syrian founder *Constantine*, about the year 660, styled himself *Sylvanus*, and revived several of the doctrines of the Gnostics, and also of *Manes*, an heresiarch who flourished in the latter part of the third century. Like *Manes*, he held that there were two Gods, the one evil, and the other good; and to the evil principle he ascribed the creation of the world, the flood, the Law of Moses and the Old Testament revelation, the destruction of Sodom, the drowning of the Egyptians, and the slaying of the Canaanites. Like the Gnostics, he believed that Christ had brought an impassive body from heaven, and denied the reality of his death and resurrection: his followers therefore refused to worship the Virgin, or to adore the cross, and they also rejected the Holy Communion and the priesthood. These tenets were widely adopted in Pontus, Cappadocia, and Armenia; but were so bitterly persecuted, that in the ninth century, the Paulicians were even goaded into a rebellion, which, after a long struggle, was put down by Basil the Macedonian. In the middle of the preceding century, many of these sectaries had been transported into Thrace; the colony thus planted was increased by fresh exiles, and thus their notions were diffused among the Bulgarians. From Bulgaria, as the trade of France and Germany with Constantinople was then carried on by the channel of the Danube,—through Hungary and Bavaria, or through Venice and Lombardy,—Manicheism found its way into Western Europe, early in the eleventh century, and was not rooted out until after the middle of the thirteenth, when the Catharists, in Germany and elsewhere, the Italian Paterins (Gazari), and the French Albigenses, had been crushed. Some of the heretics rejected infant baptism and the divinity of Christ, and even denied a future state. The division into two classes—the *Perfect*, who abstained from eating flesh, and did not marry; and the *Credentes*, or *Consolati*, who lived in a secular

cheism : their fellow-sufferers the Waldenses, alike harmless in their lives, held a purer faith. The rulers of the Church, especially when it was engaged in a struggle with the Empire, had wavered in their policy towards the sectaries both in France and elsewhere, sometimes treating them with harshness, at other times professing to encourage the efforts of reformers : but when Innocent III. ascended the papal throne, he saw that freedom of thought was to be crushed ere he could establish his supremacy ; and he set himself to the work with all his wonderful energy. Wherever he could reach them, the separatists, each in their turn, were assailed : their congregations were scattered, their goods were forfeited, and their leaders were burnt alive. As early as the year 1198, the very first of his pontificate, two Cistercians, *Guy* and *Regnier*,

manner—has rightly been deemed conclusive as to the true origin of the Albigenses. They were also branded with the appellation of Bulgarians or Boulgres, which became a word of foul reproach.

The Waldenses, or the Poor Men of Lyons, (the Vaudois,) denied the lawfulness of oaths and of capital punishment, and had ministers of their own making ; but in other respects they seem to have been orthodox. Some of them made a point of wearing wooden shoes, and were termed Sabbatati, in contradistinction to the less rigid Insabbatati. All the early writers state the Waldenses to have been founded, about the year 1160, by *Peter Waldo*, a merchant of Lyons ; and give no countenance to the modern theory that they were originally a race of Alpine Protestants, long settled in the valleys of Piedmont, which are still the abode of the Vaudois. From Lyons, the new sect spread over France into Piedmont ; and through Germany, as far as Bohemia. It is universally acknowledged that the Waldenses had no taint of Manicheism ; and the purity of their lives is highly spoken of, even by their enemies, although witchcraft was maliciously designated as *Vauderie*. In fact, if a man was religious and would not curse, or swear, or lie, or commit adultery, murder, or theft, it would be said of him that he was a Vaudois, and worthy of death. The Catharists were not so clear of blame ; and there may have been some ground for the exaggerated charges of impurity brought against them.

were empowered as commissaries to track out the heretics in Narbonne and the neighbouring dioceses; and the feudal lords were also called upon to help in persecuting their vassals⁸. These commissaries, and other monks afterwards sent as legates, carried fear and hatred with them wherever they went. They roughly took the lords to task for their lukewarmness; they charged the secular clergy with simony and neglect of duty, and at last deposed several bishops⁹; they denounced the lawless Catalans, or soldiers of fortune, in the pay of Raymond VI. of Thoulouse who was no friend of theirs; and year after year, men of every class had their patience tried to the utmost. In the end, the inquisitors found themselves thwarted by the opposition which they had provoked, and had the hardihood to appeal to the sword.

The unhallowed struggle thus began. In the spring of the year 1207, when the restless and quarrelsome Raymond had taken the field against the barons of Baux and their confederates, the legate *Peter de Castelnau* offered these his services as a mediator; and got them to promise that, if the count should yield to their demands, they would turn their arms against the heretics. A treaty was accordingly drawn up; but Raymond refused to sign it, and was at once excommunicated and put under an interdict. As this sentence was confirmed at Rome, and his foes were egged on to attack him, his pride so far gave way that he swore to do all that was wanted, yet did not keep his word: he had either a fellow-feeling with the Albigenes, or he

⁸ The lords were bidden to confiscate the goods and lands of the heretics. If they resisted this bribe, and took the part of their vassals, they were to be punished with interdicts and excommunications.

⁹ They began with the bishops of *Thoulouse* and *Viviers*, in the year 1204.—The higher clergy in Provence and Languedoc were mostly dissolute nobles; the inferior priests were men of low birth, and despised for their vices and ignorance.

was loth to drive away and destroy an industrious race to please the monks. Castelnau was enraged at this breach of faith. He went with another legate to reproach him for it; and spoke such bitter, railing words that his life is said to have been threatened:—ere he had crossed the Rhone on his return, he was murdered at an inn by a gentleman who belonged to the count, Jan. 1208¹. This deed of blood was visited by the Pope upon Raymond, although it cannot be shown that he had any hand in it: he was excommunicated; his vassals and allies were absolved from their oaths; a crusade was published against him and his subjects, and pardons for sin, a share of the spoil, and the fullest indulgences, were freely held out to all who would undertake it. The king and the peers of France had already been written to, the foregoing November, to induce them to unite in a war against the foes of their Church; fresh letters were now sent, and Philip Augustus was urged to march in person against heretics who were worse than Saracens, and to strip the stubborn count of Thoulouse of all his lands and fiefs. Philip was watching John of England and Otho of Germany, and was too busy to listen to such a call; yet he allowed the crusade to be preached in his territories. The Cistercian monks, let loose from the cells of nearly eight hundred convents by the legate *Arnold Amalric*, abbot of the parent house of Cîteaux, roamed about far and wide to beat up recruits; and crowds of red-hot bigots, thinking to wipe off a heavy score of sin, rushed forth on all sides to kill, and burn, and pillage, in the name of God. By bearing arms for forty days, any one might save his soul. In the meanwhile, the

¹ This man, who seems to have followed the legates, got into a dispute with Castelnau about heresy and heretics, and when fiercely reviled by him, ran him through the side. Whether he acted from impulse or from design, cannot be known.

fierce Spaniard Dominic and his brother mendicants² were on foot, going two and two through the suspected towns and villages of Languedoc, to win back some of the stray sheep to the papal fold, and to mark out the rest for burning. This was the beginning of the Inquisition.

Alarmed at the storm which was thus brooding, Raymond of Thoulouse and his nephew *Raymond-Roger*, the young viscount of *Alby*³, sought out the legate Arnold, and begged at least to be heard in their defence. Arnold haughtily referred them to the Pope himself. The high spirited Raymond-Roger saw that there was no hope, and made up his mind to fight to the last gasp: but notwithstanding his reproaches, his uncle quailed at the thought, and tried what negotiation could do. His envoys were well received by Innocent; who told them that if their master would help the crusaders, and give seven of his best castles as pledges of his good faith, he might be absolved and taken into especial favour. But there was no truth in what he said: for he was writing to his legate to "use craft," which, as he argued, "in such a case was rather to be called prudence." While the other heretics were attacked, the count forsooth was to be "treated with a wise dissimulation," that he might afterwards be crushed when he stood alone!

In the following spring, three large bodies of crusaders had mustered on the borders of Languedoc⁴. Count Ray-

² *Fulk* or *Fouquet*, the new bishop of *Thoulouse*,—once a gay troubadour,—introduced the Dominicans as a brotherhood into his diocese, seven years before the order was sanctioned by the Pope at the Fourth Council of Lateran.

³ He was the son of Roger II., viscount of *Alby* and *Carcassonne*, and *Addaïde*, Raymond's sister. During his minority, heresy had greatly spread in his domains.

⁴ The knights and warriors may have been as many as fifty thousand; and they were followed by a rabble, armed with scythes and bludgeons, who could rob and murder if they could not fight.

mond's heart sank in him with fear. When cited before *Milo*, a new legate⁵, he yielded up the castles, and consented that the consuls of Nismes, Avignon, and St. George, should bind themselves to abandon him, if he did not keep all his promises; he was also to abide by the judgment that should be pronounced on the fifteen charges which had been brought against him. From Valence, where the council was held, June 1209, he went to St. Gilles, and was absolved after he had again sworn to obey the behests of the Pope and his legates; Milo dragging him, naked to the waist, by a stole placed round his neck, into the church where Peter de Castelnau lay buried, and beating him with rods before the altar⁶. So broken was the spirit of Raymond, that he begged to be allowed to take the cross, and then joined himself to the host of fanatics who were now marching to overthrow his own nephew.

When these, and the priests and nobles who led them on, had reached Montpellier, the viscount Raymond-Roger tried once more to appease the ferocious Arnold. He was told that there was no mercy for him; so he called together his barons, and it was resolved, even by those who (like himself) were no heretics, that they should all shut themselves up in their strongholds, and defend themselves as they best could. The tide of invasion now swept ruthlessly on, spreading havoc over the fields, destroying towns and castles, and bringing death by fire and sword upon those whose belief was suspected⁷. It was stopped for a moment

⁵ Raymond having urged that Arnold was his foe, Milo, the notary apostolical, was named as legate; but with secret orders to be guided by Arnold!

⁶ Besides redressing the wrongs he had done to two of the bishops, he pledged himself to uphold the rights of churches; to pursue all heretics; to deprive Jews of public offices; and to banish the
or Catalans.

Chasseneuil capitulated, and the garrison was allowed to

by the walls of Beziers ; but the citizens being beaten in their first sally, the crusaders rushed in, and spared not a living soul : the very churches were drenched with the blood of the helpless people who had crowded into them as their last hope, and Catholics and heretics were butchered alike. " Kill them all ! " cried Arnold, " God will know his own ⁸." When this frightful slaughter was over, the place was left a heap of ashes. In another fortnight, on the first of August, Raymond-Roger himself was beset in Carcassonne, which was built on a rock, and of which even the suburbs were fortified : one of these was taken in two hours, the other was gallantly held out for eight days before it was abandoned and burnt. The youthful hero had shown himself a match for the stern and fiery *Simon de Montfort*⁹, the foremost champion of this hateful war.

At this stage of the conflict, Peter II., the king of Arragon, entered the camp of the besiegers and offered to mediate between them and the viscount, his vassal. The only terms which Arnold would grant, were such that they were indignantly spurned¹ ; the king sorrowfully withdrew, and the enemy advanced to storm the town. Every attack, however, was baffled by the bravery of men who

retire, its suspected inhabitants, male and female, were burnt alive amid the shouts of the crusaders.

⁸ The people of Beziers thus horribly expiated the sins of their fathers (see p. 198, note 1). But many thousands, chiefly women and children, had lately thronged into the town for shelter, and are believed to have far outnumbered the citizens, who were perhaps about 15,000 souls.

⁹ See p. 166, note 6. Simon had joined the Crusade of the year 1202 ; but had left it when Zara was besieged. " An able warrior, austere in his life, fanatical in his religion, inflexible, cruel, and perfidious," says Sismondi, " he had every quality in him which would please a monk." Hallam has likened him to Cromwell.

¹ The viscount might withdraw with twelve of his followers ; but he was to leave the town and every thing in it to its fate.

knew that it was better to die than to yield ; and thus, as the assailants were heavily discouraged by their losses and the forty days of service were ended, Arnold was so dismayed that he renewed the proposal for a treaty. The water in the cisterns of the city having begun to fail, Raymond-Roger listened to his overtures, and, on the faith of a safe-conduct, came forth with an escort of three hundred knights to meet the chieftains in his tent ; but though he said that he was most willing to submit to the authority of the Church, he was treacherously seized by the legate, and handed over to the keeping of Simon de Montfort. The following night, the affrighted inhabitants of Carcassonne stole out of the city by an outlet underground, leaving all their goods behind them ² ; yet when it was found that they were fled, some of them were overtaken, and from these and the prisoners, the conquerors chose a number of victims on which they could wreak their vengeance. Four hundred men and women were burnt alive, and fifty more were hanged.

The crusade had done its work. The count of Thoulouse was humbled ; the viscount of Alby was a prisoner ; and the viscount of *Narbonne* ³, to save his capital from a siege, was cruelly persecuting his subjects. Still the legate was not satisfied. Afraid that heresy would again lift up its head, he wished his allies to stay, and thus bethought himself of bestowing the viscounties of Beziers and Carcassonne upon one of the leading chieftains. This offer was refused by *Hervey*, count of *Nevers* ⁴, by Eudes, duke of Burgundy,

² The legate took the spoil in the name of the Church, excommunicating those who should touch any part of it. He also gave out that he had signed a capitulation which had allowed the citizens to go away in their shirts.

³ *Aymery III.*, the son of Peter de Lara.

⁴ *HERVEY*, baron of Donzy, had become count of Nevers and Auxerre by his marriage with *MAUD*, the daughter of Peter II. of

and by *Walter de Châtillon*, count of *St. Pol*⁴; but Simon de Montfort caught at it, though not without going through the farce of pretending reluctance. No longer styled baron, but count of Montfort,—with his own vassals and the men of his wife's kinsmen the Montmorencies; with adventurers who remained when the rest had gone, and with new crusaders whom the monks were fast sending him;—this bold, bad man began a fresh career of conquest. After reducing some castles, he turned his arms against the count of *Foix*, another *Raymond-Roger*, who was looked upon

Courtenay (Lewis VI.'s grandson, afterwards Latin Emperor of Constantinople) and his first wife AGNES, an heiress in whom ended the dynasty of LANDRY, count of Nevers in the year 992.—After the deaths of Maud's great-granddaughter and successor MAUD II., heiress of Bourbon, and of her husband EUDES (eldest son of Hugh IV., duke of Burgundy), there was a lawsuit between their three daughters, the result of which was the division of the three united counties of Nevers, Auxerre, and Tonnerre, in the year 1275. A sister of Maud had succeeded to Bourbon.

⁴ WALTER (Gaucher) *de Châtillon*, had, in right of his wife ELIZABETH, succeeded, in the year 1205, to the county of *St. Pol*, which dates from the eleventh century.—GUY II., Walter's second son, succeeded to *St. Pol* and married *Agnes*, the daughter of *Hervey*, count of Nevers; but although he was the father of *Walter*, baron of *Donzy*, who was afterwards killed in the Egyptian crusade, and of *Violante* (the wife of the last lord of Bourbon), his elder brother got the county after his death, as the representative of his mother, who was still living. HUGH V., now count of *St. Pol*, became count of Blois, in the year 1230, in right of his second wife *Mary*, the daughter of *Walter d'Avesnes* and *Margaret*, heiress of *Blois*: on her death, their eldest son *John* inherited Blois; and at his own decease, GUY III., their second son, was count of *St. Pol*. John subsequently inherited Chartres: but it was sold to Philip the Fair by his daughter Jane, the dowager countess of Alençon (see p. 237, note 6), on whose death, Jan. 1292, Guy's son, HUGH VI., took possession of Blois and Avesnes, and ceded the county of *St. Pol* to his brother GUY IV. Guy IV.'s grandson, GUY V., was succeeded, in the year 1360, by GUY of *Luxemburg*, the husband of his sister MAUD; and thus the county of *St. Pol* passed out of the hands of the Châtillon family.

as half a heretic⁶; took several places from him; and forced him to sue for peace, and to give one of his sons as a hostage. This treaty he set aside, as more warriors joined him⁷; and he was also emboldened to fall upon the territories of the count of Thoulouse, whom the legates had excommunicated in a council at Avignon, Sept. 1209⁸.

⁶ Yet the count had once been a crusader with Philip Augustus. —In the year 1050, ROGER I. (whose father *Bernard* was the second son and one of the heirs of *Roger I.*, count of *Carcassonne*) first took the title of count of Foix. Dying childless, he was succeeded, not by his elder brother *Bernard*, count of *Bigorre*, but by his younger brother PETER, the ancestor of RAYMOND-ROGER. Raymond-Roger's great grandson ROGER-BERNARD III., in the year 1290, took possession of Béarn, which had been bequeathed to his wife *Margaret*, one of the daughters of the last viscount and of *Mathe* of *Bigorre*: the elder branch of his male line ended, Aug. 1391, in GASTON-PHÉBUS; whose successor MATTHEW, viscount of Castelbon, a distant cousin, died also, Aug. 1398, without leaving heirs of his body.

ARCHIBALD *de Grailly*, the husband of Matthew's sister ISABELLA, founded a new dynasty of counts of Foix. His son JOHN obtained a grant of the long disputed county of *Bigorre*; and his grandson GASTON IV., who bought *Narbonne*, married Eleanor of Arragon and Navarre, and was created a peer of France by Charles VII. (Aug. 1458.) Gaston died, May 1472, before his wife became queen of Navarre. At her decease, Feb. 1479, when she had reigned hardly three weeks, their grandson FRANCIS PHÉBUS inherited the crown of Navarre; and in the year 1483, that prince was succeeded by his sister CATHERINE, not only in Navarre, but also in Foix, *Bigorre*, and Béarn. The territories of the house of Foix were claimed by Catherine's uncle, John, count of *Narbonne*; but they were retained by JOHN *D'Albret*, to whom she was married, and, from whom Navarre was afterwards conquered by the Spaniards, in the year 1512. The French fiefs of the *D'Albrets*, and the empty title of king of Navarre, were eventually transmitted by marriage to the Bourbons, and thus were united to the crown of France.

⁷ He accused the count of having murdered the abbot of *Eaules*, who had negotiated the treaty: it was retorted that he himself had harboured the assassins.

⁸ Raymond still levied dues which he had promised to give up, and could ill afford to part with.

In November, he announced to the world that the viscount Raymond-Roger had died of a dysentery, in the tower of the palace at Carcassonne³.

To the dismay of Montfort, the king of Arragon refused his homage and declared for the deceased viscount's only son *Raymond Trencavel*; a child about two years old, whom the count of Foix had in his keeping. There was a general rising against the oppressor, and out of two hundred towns and castles, only eight remained under his power. Yet even then, Raymond of Thoulouse did not dare to strike a decisive blow. He chose rather to go and seek the favour of the king of France; and then went on to Rome, to get himself absolved at any price. Either policy or pity led Innocent to grant him his wish (Jan. 1210): he was, however, to appear before a council, on his return, and to show clearly that he was guiltless of heresy and of the murder of Castelnau. He would have done better had he drawn the sword at once, and thrown away the scabbard.

For while Raymond was away, Simon of Montfort, who at the first shock of the revolt had stood on the defensive, quickly recovered himself when a host of pilgrims was brought to him, in Lent, by his wife *Alice of Montmorency*. Some of the lost strongholds were attacked by him and stormed; many were abandoned at his approach; every where his way might be tracked by dismal sights of hangings, burnings, and bloodshed, by ruined homes and a wasted country. In him, the rage of hell seemed to have been let loose. Thus he breathed fresh courage into his party; so that Raymond met only with cruel mockery when he presented himself at the Council of St. Gilles, Sept. 1210, and

³ This illness may have been brought on by grief; yet even the Pope had misgivings that the viscount had been poisoned.

his excommunication was renewed¹. In the beginning of the next year, the unhappy count's own brother-in-law, Peter of Arragon, another of whose sisters was also then married to his son, accepted the proffered friendship of his adversary ; either dreading the Pope or the crusaders. Simon de Montfort did homage to the king for Beziers and Carcassonne ; and the infant heir of Arragon was affianced to his daughter, and even entrusted into his hands.

In a conference at Narbonne, at which the king of Arragon was present, Jan. 1211, it was proposed by the legates to restore every thing to the count of Thoulouse, if he would drive all the heretics out of his states. This, we are told, he refused to do. In the middle of February, he was summoned before a council which was convened at Arles, his friend Peter being invited to come with him : but when they had entered that city, they were bidden not to go out of it without leave ; and thirteen insulting articles were tendered to Raymond², on the fulfilment of which he was to have all his lands and lordships, when it should please the count of Montfort and the legate Arnold ! In high wrath, he at once took his departure with the king, and was excommunicated afresh : it was decreed that his dominions were forfeited, and that any one might seize them. The sentence was ratified by the Pope.

¹ To gratify Arnold, it was managed by Master (doctor) *Théodis*, a Genoese canon joined with the legates, that Raymond should not be allowed a hearing, on pretence that he was a perjured man, not having done all that he had promised with regard to heretics, tolls, and Routiers. Raymond bursting into tears, the doctor said with a sneer : " In the great water-floods they shall not come nigh him."

² Raymond was to disarm, even dismantling his strongholds and withdrawing his garrisons from the walled towns ; to renounce the dues ; to oblige his subjects to do penance ; to give up all heretics to Montfort and the legate ; and to go and serve in the Holy Land, until the legate recalled him !

In another month, the preaching of the monks had enabled Simon de Montfort to take the field with a rapidly increasing army, and he was besieging the strong heretic castle of Lavaur. Raymond, who was bearded by a bigoted faction in his own capital³, and was forsaken even by his brother *Baldwin*, still endeavoured to treat with his foes; nor was it until he saw that this was hopeless, that he forbade his subjects to supply their camp with food, and entered into a league with the counts of Foix and *Comminges*, the viscount of Béarn, and other lords who were circumstanced like himself. By the count of Foix, a body of crusaders from Germany, under *Leopold VI.*, duke of *Austria*, and the counts of *Mons* and *Juliens*, was surprised and cut to pieces. Yet Lavaur fell in May, the daring and the skill of Simon having triumphed over every obstacle: its governor⁴ was hanged; eighty brave knights were massacred; and when the lady of the castle, a widow, had been thrown into a well and stones heaped over her, at least four hundred heretics were gathered together and "with huge joy" burnt alive. The pilgrims then marched on towards Thoulouse, in the full pride of unchecked success; and about the middle of June, being joined by many Germans, they sat down before it. But Raymond had got the citizens to unite against a danger

³ Bishop Fouquet had enrolled the *citizens* of Thoulouse into a brotherhood for the suppression of heresy, called the "White Company," 5000 of whom went to join the besiegers of Lavaur. The count's partisans in the "*Borough*," where the nobles chiefly resided, organized the "Black Company," in self-defence; and there were bloody fights between the "City" and the "Borough."—Fouquet would not leave the city just then, though bidden by Raymond, whom he had impudently asked to take a walk outside the town, so as to suspend the interdict while he held an ordination.

⁴ *Aymery de Montréal*. He was the brother of *Guiraudes*, the mistress of the castle.

by which every man's safety was threatened⁵, and his allies came in to help him ; so the siege was soon raised, after a sally in which not a few of the enemy were slain.

Driven back from Thoulouse, the count of Montfort consoled himself by ravaging Foix and conquering the Quercy. In September, when Raymond and the confederates besieged Castelnaudary, he threw himself with a hundred knights into the place, until his friends could be brought to the rescue, and a signal victory was gained over the count of Foix⁶ : but Raymond afterwards recovered the district of Alby, and in more than fifty castles, the people rose and expelled the French intruders. The next year, although the legate Arnold, who had become archbishop of Narbonne, and other prelates and barons went to fight against the Moors in Spain⁷, Simon had a fresh supply of crusaders. With these he overran a deserted country, the inhabitants of which had fled into the towns for shelter⁸ ; and the count of Thoulouse, in despair, now betook himself to the court of Peter of Arragon, beseeching him to plead with the Pope in his behalf, even proffering unconditional submission.

Innocent, who may indeed have been misled by Montfort and the legates, was shamed into writing them letters, Jan.

⁵ The people of Thoulouse were accordingly excommunicated ; and at Fouquet's command, all the priests went forth from the city barefoot, carrying the host with them.

⁶ The new comers were beaten at first ; but the count's troops fell to plundering and were routed in their turn.

⁷ They did not, however, stay long enough to have a share in the glorious battle of Navas de Toloso.

⁸ Simon afterwards held a parliament, or conference, of his supporters at Pamiers, Nov. 1212, in which statutes were made for the conquered districts. For ten years, the dowagers and heiresses of noble fiefs were only to be married to Frenchmen ; which system and the confiscations greatly weakened the Provençal nobility.

1213, in which he charged them with covetousness, ambition, and the shedding of innocent blood: the preaching of the crusade was to be suspended; the son and the liegemen of Raymond could not justly be punished for his guilt; and restitution was to be made to the vassals of the king of Arragon. But the Pope, if he had wished it, could not lay the storm which he had raised. A council, then assembled in the blood-stained town of Lavaur, had already refused to listen to Raymond or to show any mercy to his adherents; nay, it was even urged that Thoulouse and all its inhabitants should be utterly destroyed. From the fathers of this cruel synod, there now burst forth such a clamour of remonstrance, that Innocent retraced his steps. He wrote, in May, to the king of Arragon, saying that he had been quite misled by him; and confirmed the excommunication of Raymond and of the three other lords. Thus overreached, Peter appealed to the sword⁹. Returning to Languedoc with a thousand knights, and joined by perhaps as many more under the counts of Thoulouse, Foix, Comminges, and the viscount of Béarn, Sept. 1213, he laid siege to Muret, a small town near Thoulouse: thither Simon also hastened, with about a thousand knights and men-at-arms; and on the morrow, instead of letting himself be pent up within the walls, marched out and attacked him. In the outset of the battle, the king lost his life by his rashness¹, and his Spaniards fled disheartened; so that

⁹ Being a gay troubadour, he wrote to a lady of Thoulouse that he was going to fight the French knights for the sake of her love. "God is for us," cried the grim Montfort when the letter was intercepted; "he has only the eyes of his lady for him!"

¹ A knight who wore his armour having reeled under the shock of two lances, one of the assailants called out, "This is not the king; he is a better horseman." "No, indeed, it is not," said Peter; "but here he is." He was at once surrounded and borne down.—It is characteristic of the man and the age, that he slept with one of his

the rest of the allied cavalry was easily routed by the pilgrim warriors, every one of whom had a firm belief that, if he died, he should be crowned in heaven as a martyr². The day being won, an ill-armed host of infantry from the neighbouring towns, which had stood aloof during the fight, was trodden down, cut to pieces, or pushed by thousands into the Garonne³.

The year after this victory, Simon had to give up his ward, the son of the fallen king; being bidden by the Pope, and threatened by the Catalans and Arragonese. Before its close, Philip Augustus, who had begun to abridge the privileges of crusaders in his dominions, had gained the battle of Bouvines, and was at leisure to extend his sovereignty over the whole of the south of France⁴. Moreover Raymond and the excommunicated lords, and also the inhabitants of Thoulouse and Narbonne, having submitted unconditionally, were reconciled to the Church by cardinal *Peter of Benevento*, the new legate⁵. But when a council met at Montpellier, to decide upon their fate, Simon, who was driven out of the town by the people, had still influence enough with the bishops to be chosen as the lord of Thoulouse and of all the conquered territory; and though he was alarmed by the arrival, in the spring, of prince Lewis of France and a large army, these only came

mistresses the night before the battle, and heard mass in the morning!

² So they had been promised by Fouquet of Thoulouse and six other bishops, who had absolved them and were offering up prayers in a church for their success.

³ Montfort's own infantry, also a mere rabble, only distinguished itself by such feats as the stripping of Peter's dead body.

⁴ In April 1214, he had already taken Montpellier under his protection for five years.

⁵ One of Raymond's last acts of power had been to condemn Baldwin, his brother, to die as a traitor (A.D. 1214). The count of Foix accordingly had the culprit hanged on a walnut tree.

as pilgrims, and were induced to return home as the war was over. The following November, the deposed count of Thoulouse and his son *Raymond VII.*, to whom he had ceded his rights⁶, went with the counts of Foix and Comminges to Italy, and at the council of Lateran, throwing themselves on their knees before the Pope, cried out against the wrongs and outrages which they had suffered : yet, notwithstanding the pity which was felt for them, it was finally decreed that Simon de Montfort should be count of Thoulouse, and should keep whatever he had acquired ; the marquisate of Provence being reserved for the younger Raymond⁷. The two counts were promised a further inquiry into their case.

Notwithstanding all his good fortune, Simon never had any peace. Having compelled the viscount of Narbonne to do homage to him as his duke, he aroused the wrath of Arnold, who had set up a claim to the duchy as archbishop⁸ : the feud ran so high, that he forced his way into Narbonne, and displayed his ducal standard there, and pulled down wide portions of its walls ; the archbishop excommunicating him, and placing all the churches under an interdict during his stay ! In April 1216, he indeed received from Philip Augustus the investiture of Thoulouse, Narbonne, Beziers, and Carcassonne ; but he was soon troubled afresh by the tidings that young Raymond and his father had been warmly welcomed in Provence, and that they were threatening his dominions. The first blow was struck at Beaucaire, where this gallant youth, to

⁶ Having given up every thing, they had for a time found a refuge in the count of John of England, their kinsman.

⁷ It was to remain in the hands of the Church, till the young count was of age.—The elder Raymond was also to be allowed a pension of 400 marks, and his wife was to have her jointure-lands given to her.

⁸ The viscount had even sworn fealty to him, March 1212.

whom the gates of the town had been opened, not only stood his ground against him, but even took the castle ; and on another side, the frontier was also crossed by the old count with troops from Arragon and Catalonia : had not these been driven back, the people at Thoulouse would have risen. As it was, the loyal citizens had gone too far to be forgiven by their hard, unrelenting master ; who then behaved with such cruel treachery⁹, that they hated him worse than ever, and secretly called upon their former lord to return once more out of Spain, and help them. The next year, while the tyrant was busily hunting down his other foes, Raymond VI. entered Thoulouse, Sept. 1217 ; defeated *Guy of Montfort*, Simon's brother ; and gathered around him his bravest nobles and knights, who came joyfully with trumpets and banners into the city, hoping to avenge their wrongs at last¹. The doom of the oppressor was sealed. Though weakened by the desertion of many of his soldiers, he speedily appeared before Thoulouse and tried to storm it ; being beaten off, he had to undertake a tedious siege, in the course of which, as he was repelling a sally from the town², he was killed by a stone,

⁹ Bishop Fouquet was his adviser. That wolf went to the citizens and counselled them to come out to the count ; and while he thus enabled him to seize eighty of them, he let his troops into the town. The indignant citizens turned back and drove the ruffians out : but the threat of putting the prisoners to death made them come to terms, Montfort swearing to spare their lives and goods, and to release the captives. When they were once disarmed, many more were thrown into the tyrant's deadly dungeons, and a heavy fine of 30,000 marks was laid upon the city.

¹ Three-fourths of the old gentry, though no heretics, had been stripped of their lands. The *Faidits*, as they were called, were not allowed to enter a walled place, or to mount a war horse.

² The defenders were attempting to burn a battering engine (a cat). Being at mass, he waited until the elevation of the host, and then rushed out against them saying the "*Nemo dimittit*."

hurled from a mangonel on the walls, June 1218. A month after his fall, his son *Amalric* withdrew with his disheartened army.

About this time, a new crusade to the East was indirectly of much service to Raymond, as it diverted the stream of pilgrim warriors from Languedoc. The following spring, his son went to the rescue of the count of Foix, and won a brilliant victory at Basiége : but on the other hand, the crown prince Lewis, with the duke of Britany, and the count of St. Pol, and a host of northern French, joined Amalric and, after reducing the castle of Marmande, invested Thoulouse, June 1219^a. There the assailants had their ranks greatly thinned by sickness and by the sword ; and at the end of two months, they broke up and returned home. After this, Amalric every day became weaker, until his resources were so drained by the fruitless siege of Castelnaudary, March 1221, that he betook himself in despair to Carcassonne, which still remained to him. He now offered to sell his rights, such as they were, to Philip Augustus ; but that king would not buy them.

In August 1222, Raymond VI. breathed his last. He was never allowed to be buried : his wooden coffin was kept above ground at Thoulouse for about two hundred years, until it got broken and his bones were scattered. In April 1223, the bold and energetic count of Foix likewise died ; but as his son *Roger-Bernard II., the Great*, and Raymond VII. were men of spirit and true to each other, the tide of success still kept flowing. Claims started by

^a The Pope granted for this expedition one-half of the twentieth levied on the French clergy for crusading purposes.—Owing to the bishop of *Saintes*, Amalric perpetrated great atrocities at Marmande. Faith was kept, in spite of him, with the garrison ; but 5000 men, women, and children were murdered, though the archbishop of *Auch* earnestly protested that they were no heretics !

Peter Bernard, lord of *Sauve*, to the county of Thoulouse⁴ were set aside ; and Amalric himself at one time begged a truce, and talked of a marriage between his sister and young Raymond. The latter paid his rival a visit at Carcassonne, and was honourably suffered to return home in safety, although, in a foolish frolic, he had frightened away the whole of his escort⁵.

The summer that Raymond VI. died, Philip Augustus, who had lately secured the important fief of Alençon as an escheat (Jan. 1221)⁶, was seized with a quartan ague. He

⁴ In right of his wife *Constance* (the divorced queen of Sancho the Strong, of Navarre), daughter of Raymond VI. and Beatrice of Beziers. He said that young Raymond was a bastard, having been born when his father's third wife was still living.

⁵ Amused at the alarm of his men, he sent them word that he had been arrested in the night.

⁶ In the beginning of the eleventh century, the Norman lords of Bellesme also became counts of Alençon. Their male line failing, in the year 1070, a new dynasty was founded by the heiress MABEL (Mabile) and her husband ROGER DE MONTGOMERY, whom William the Conqueror created earl of Shrewsbury. The eldest son of this marriage, the restless and cruel ROBERT II., *de Bellesme*, had Alençon, Bellesme, and (after the death of his second brother *Hugh*) the earldom of Shrewsbury : but in the year 1102, he and his brothers, Roger, earl of Lancaster and count of Marche (see page 205, note 6), and *Arnulf*, earl of *Pembroke*, were deprived of their English fiefs by Henry I. After the conquest of Normandy by that prince, he again rebelled ; and being seized when he came as the envoy of the king of France, Nov. 1112, he was sent to England, where he ended his days in prison. Bellesme was given by Henry to the count of *Perche* ; and Alençon was eventually bestowed upon Stephen, the future usurper of the English crown, and was lost by him in a few months, owing to his tyranny, Dec. 1118. Aided by Fulk of Anjou, WILLIAM III., *Talvas*, the son of the captive Robert and (in right of his mother *Agnes*) count of Ponthieu, then recovered Alençon : he was the father of *Guy II.* of *Ponthieu* (see p. 240, note 4), and of JOHN I., to whom Alençon was assigned, and whose dynasty terminated in ROBERT

now made a will, in which, out of his vast treasure, he bequeathed large sums in trust, to be distributed among those whom he had wronged, adding many legacies to the Church and the poor, and for the support of the Holy War in Palestine ; and after languishing nearly a twelvemonth longer, he died at Mantes, July 1223, while on his way to Paris, whither the legate *Conrad*, cardinal-bishop of Porto,

IV., his infant grandson, in the year 1219. Robert's aunt, *Alice*, viscountess of *Châtelleraud*, and her husband had to give up their claims to most of his succession ; and in the next reign, June 1225, the heiress of Ponthieu also renounced her pretensions to Alençon.

In March 1269, St. Lewis granted Alençon and Perche to his fifth son PETER ; who became also count of Blois by his marriage with Jane of Châtillon, but died childless, April 1284. The two counties were next given by Philip the Fair, in the year 1293, to his brother CHARLES, count of Valois ; and when that prince died, Dec. 1325, they fell to the share of his second son, the CHARLES II. of Alençon slain at Cressy (Aug. 1346). That count was the father of CHARLES III., who, in the year 1361, resigned his fiefs to his brothers,—PETER II. had Alençon, and ROBERT V., the county of Perche,—and professing as a Dominican friar, died archbishop of Lyons. Robert of Perche having deceased without issue (A.D. 1377), Alençon and Perche were again united by Peter II. ; whose son and successor JOHN IV., *the Wise*, was created a duke, Jan. 1415, not many months before he was killed bravely fighting at Agincourt. JOHN V., *the Handsome*, who came after him, was taken prisoner by the English at Verneuil : he was twice condemned to die for high treason (Oct. 1458, and July 1474), and twice was his life spared. Just before his death, in the year 1476, his dissolute son REGNIER (René) was allowed by Lewis XI. to have his domains ; but was once shut up in an iron cage, and afterwards placed at the king's mercy by a sentence of parliament (March 1482). CHARLES II., the child of this duke, was the last of the family : he died of grief, April 1525, having run away at the battle of Pavia.—The duchy of Alençon and the county of Perche were given, Feb. 1566, by Charles IX. to his brother FRANCIS, afterwards duke of Anjou ; on whose death, June 1584, they were once more united to the crown.

had transferred a council convened at Sens against the Albigensian heretics⁷.

A. D. 1223. *Lewis VIII.*

1224. Amalric quits Languedoc. Lewis takes Rochelle, and conquers Poitou and part of Guienne.

1225. The pseudo-Baldwin. Council of Bourges.

1226. Lewis takes the cross. Siege of Avignon; conquests of Lewis in Languedoc. Death of Lewis.

LEWIS VIII. was crowned at Rheims, in August, with his wife Blanche. He afterwards entered Paris in great pomp, and gratified his lords by sanctioning an ordinance to cancel all interest upon money owed to Jews: the principal itself was only to be repaid in three instalments, at very remote periods. Firmly seated upon a throne which at length was deemed to belong to his dynasty of hereditary right⁸, and of which the power was no longer overshadowed by the might of its vassals; although he was weak in body and by no means strong-minded, he made his rule more actively felt than that of his father had been of late. Short as his reign was, his conquests, ere he died, had reached to the banks of the Garonne and to the shores of the Mediterranean.

Before he was yet crowned, Lewis had advanced ten thousand marks to Amalric de Montfort; who was thus enabled to relieve Carcassonne, then beset by the counts of Thou-

⁷ At the king's funeral, there was a curious dispute for precedence. At St. Denys, the cardinal and the archbishop of Rheims each performed the mass at a separate altar, the clergy and people responding to both celebrants at the same time!

⁸ It had not been thought needful to crown him in his father's lifetime. He was looked upon as half a Carlovingian, his mother's grandmother being a descendant of *Hermangarda*, countess of *Namur*, a daughter of the deposed Charles of Lorraine; which, as *Sismondi* argues, would imply that the Salic Law was not yet much thought of.

louse and Foix. When, however, the money was spent, Amalric, again attacked in Carcassonne by the two counts, was in so hopeless a state, that he signed a convention, Jan. 1224, in which he gave up all that remained to him in the south of France; and after he and his knights had left it for ever, Carcassonne, together with Beziers, Rasez, and Alby, was restored to Raymond Trencavel II., the son of its late viscount and the ward of the count of Foix. Arnold and neighbouring prelates wrote to Lewis in despair, beseeching him not to allow the peace to be confirmed; Amalric himself also came to Paris, and engaged to cede to him all his old claims², on receiving a promise of the constablership. This offer was conditionally accepted; but as the aid which the king demanded of the Pope was not granted¹, the project of a crusade into Languedoc was laid aside for the present, and a war with England was undertaken instead.

When, at Easter 1224, the truce with that country was at an end³, Henry III., the English king, would gladly have renewed it: the Pope likewise was for peace, as the Emperor was about to lead the warriors of Christendom to the Holy Land. Nevertheless, having gathered together a large army, Lewis entered Poitou at Midsummer; took a number of towns by fair or by foul means, Rochelle, the

² Yet he had received 10,000 marks by the late treaty, and had pledged himself to do his best to bring about the reconciliation of the two counts with Lewis and the Pope!

¹ The Pope had consented to Lewis's exorbitant terms; but the Emperor Frederic II. having complained of the want of encouragement which hindered the crusade to the East, he hastily retracted, and even announced that he would receive the submission of Raymond.—Soon afterwards, when the crusade was put off for two years, the Pope's policy again changed with regard to Raymond.

³ When Lewis came to the throne, Henry's envoys had summoned him to restore Normandy, Maine, and Anjou (see p. 216, note 6); he now published anew the old sentence of forfeiture.

key of the whole province, surrendering in August³; and thence he pushed onwards into other districts, and Limoges and part of Guienne—all the places on the north of the Garonne which still belonged to England—yielded without hardly any resistance. The next year, July 1225, the viscount of Thouars, with whom he had made an armistice, submitted to pay him homage; and Henry was also forsaken by his only ally, Hugh of Lusignan, now count of March and Angoulême, the husband of his mother, who, when she became widow, had married her former lover. Richard of England, Henry's brother, landed indeed at Bordeaux with a small force, that summer: but all that he could do was to protect Gascony; which was become an easy task, as the attention of Lewis was again turned towards Languedoc. In the following spring, at the request of the papal legate, a truce for a twelvemonth was agreed to (A.D. 1226).

Not quite a year before this truce, June 1225, Lewis had allowed his cousin *Mary*, the dispossessed heiress of *Ponthieu*⁴, to have her father's county, although he would

³ *Savary de Montlton*, the commandant, afterwards fled to Lewis, when accused of treason, and became his liegeman.

⁴ *AGNES*, the heiress of the ancient counts of Ponthieu (about the year 1101), and the wife of Robert II., count of Alençon,—see p. 236, note 6,—was succeeded by her son *WILLIAM II.*, *Talvas*; who in his lifetime gave Ponthieu to his eldest son *GUY II.*, whose grandson *WILLIAM VI.* died about the year 1221, leaving a daughter by his wife Alice of France, the *MARY* of *Ponthieu*, countess of Aumale, whom Philip Augustus now kept out of her inheritance, although his own niece. *Mary*, when restored by Lewis, had to renounce all claim to the succession of Alençon; and it was not until the next reign, that her husband's dominions were restored to him. The count of Aumale dying, she married *Matthew de Montmorency*, by whom she had no children; and in the year 1261, her eldest daughter, *JOAN* of *Aumale*, the second wife of Ferdinand the Saint, king of Castile, and afterwards of the widower *John de Nele*, inherited Ponthieu. That

not take off the sentence of forfeiture from her husband *Simon of Dammartin*, count of *Aumale*⁵ and brother of the captive count of Boulogne, who had fought on the rebel side at Bouvines. Moreover, troubles had broken out in Flanders, an old man having started up, in the month of April, who gave himself out to be Baldwin of Constantinople, just escaped, after a horrible confinement of twenty years, from the dungeons of the king of Bulgaria, in which he was supposed to have died: the strange tale was the more readily believed, as the people hated their countess and were glad to have their former lord to rule over them; it was also countenanced by the king of England. Jane of Flanders and her sister *Margaret* fled to Paris, and secured the help of their own sovereign; on which the pretender, whom they taxed with being a hermit of Cham-

county, on the death of Joan, March 1279, was withheld from the count of Aumale, her grandson, the right of representation not being admitted: it was obtained by her daughter, the celebrated *Eleanor of Castille*, the queen of Edward I. of England, from whose grandson Edward III. it was finally conquered by the French, May 1369. In the 15th century, Oct. 1467, Lewis XI. ceded it to *Charles the Bold*, duke of Burgundy; but recovered it after the fall of his rival, Jan. 1477.

⁵ The first count of Aumale (also called Aumerle and Albemarle), *Eudes of Champagne*, owed his creation to William the Conqueror, having found a refuge in Normandy when despoiled, about the year 1048, by his uncle Theobald of Blois, after the death of Stephen II., count of Champagne, his father. William also gave him the earldom of Holderness and the hand of his half-sister *Adelaide*; who became the mother of *Judith*, the heartless wife of earl Waltheof, and of a son named *Stephen*, who was remarkable for his turbulence and for his crusading zeal. Stephen's son *William the Fat*, the hero of the battle of the Standard, was the father of the countess *Hadwisa*, from whose third husband, *Baldwin of Béthune*, Aumale was conquered by Philip Augustus, in the year 1196.—The empty title of Albemarle was still kept up in England by Hadwisa's fourth husband *William de Fortibus* (des Forts) and his descendants; and it has since been borne by earls and dukes of other lines.

In the year 1200, Philip Augustus granted the county of Aumale

pagne⁶ who was very like the late Emperor of the East, undertook to come and prove the truth of his story before Lewis himself, at Péronne. There he answered several questions readily enough : but when he was asked where he had done homage to Philip Augustus ; where, and by whom, he had been knighted ; and the place and the day of his marriage ; he was quite at a loss, and was forthwith bidden to go out of the kingdom as an impostor. As he was lurking in disguise, in the county of Burgundy, within the frontiers of the Empire, he was seized by a knight, and handed over into the power of the countess of Flanders ; who had him hanged at Lisle—much to the horror of the populace, by whom he was still thought to be her father !

Although Raymond of Thoulouse had been trying his utmost to be at peace with Rome⁷, no faith had been kept

to SIMON of *Dammartin*, whom, however, he afterwards proscribed (A.D. 1214). Simon was at last restored by St. Lewis, March 1231 ; and on his decease, Sept. 1239, he was succeeded by his eldest daughter JOAN, queen of Castille, whose son FERDINAND II., the next count, died before her, his child JOHN I. being allowed to have Aumale as his heir. From Ponthieu, his grandmother's county, when it became vacant, John was excluded : he fell at Courtray, July 1302 ; and at the end of the year 1342, his son JOHN II. died, whose eldest daughter BLANCHE and her husband JOHN, count of Harcourt and viscount of Châtelleraud, inherited Aumale. Their great-granddaughter MARY, countess-dowager of Vaudemont, brought it into the house of Lorraine, Dec. 1452 ; so that in the next century, it was an appanage in the younger branch of Guise.

⁶ One *Bertrand* or *Bernard de Rays*.—It has been thought, without much reason, that his mind or his memory was weakened.

⁷ In two conferences with Arnold, at Montpellier, June and August 1224, Raymond had yielded to every demand ; yet was still referred to Rome, where his envoys had to wait fruitlessly for months. When he hoped that all was settled, the legate Romanus published an ominous bull against him, Feb. 1225, and went to treat with Lewis at Paris.—At Michaelmas, Arnold died.

with him. Hoping to the last, he had attended at the national council of Bourges, held in November, 1225, by the legate *Romanus*, cardinal-deacon of *St. Angelus*¹, who had been lately carrying on negotiations with Amalric de Montfort and the king of France, both of whom were also present: but notwithstanding that he challenged inquiry of the legate himself, begging him to come to his dominions and judge with his own eyes, the open discussion of his case was suddenly stopped, and it was referred to secret conclaves of the prelates, each archbishop and his suffragans sitting apart. At length, when Romanus had completed his treaty with Lewis, there was an end to all further mystery: the council was dissolved², and the count was left at the mercy of his foes. Neither the king of England, nor his own nephew James of Arragon, nor any of his allies but the count of Foix, dared any longer to stand by him.

A number of spiritual and temporal lords having been gathered together at Paris, Jan. 1226, the legate excommunicated Raymond and his adherents; and bestowed their lands upon the king, to whom Amalric of Montfort also gave up his pretended rights. Lewis and most of his bishops and barons then took the cross; and as the war was zealously preached, and all the power of the papacy

¹ This legate, when at Paris, was rescued by the king from the fury of the students, whom he had forbidden to have a seal of their own, the University being an offshoot of the cathedral-church. Many of the students were excommunicated; and the next November, Pope Honorius published a bull in which he made it treasonable to insult or to harm the person of a cardinal, enjoining most vindictive penalties.

² The council had opposed the Pope's demand of two prebends in each chapter, and a threatened commission of two bishops with power to depose any of the abbots in France.

and of the crown was put forth¹, by the time that his host mustered at Bourges, about a month after Easter, the men-at-arms alone amounted to fifty thousand. When he had reached Lyons, at the end of May, the consuls of the towns and villages belonging to Raymond came in with their keys, and with hostages; even Avignon, which for years had been excommunicated for its loyalty, thus trying to avert the storm which threatened it. That strong city, however, which was remarkable for its wealth and freedom², would not admit the crusaders within its walls; but though the king might enter with the legate and the chieftains, the rest were to content themselves with a supply of provisions and a passage over the Rhone by a wooden bridge which had been built outside the town. Lewis, on arriving before Avignon, declared that he would march in at the head of his army: so the gates were shut against him, and for nearly three months, the place stood a dreadful siege, during which the heat of the season, fatigue, want of food, deadly conflicts, and a still more deadly sickness, destroyed twenty thousand of the assailants. His convoys were cut off by Raymond; and in spite of his threats, young *Theobald IV.*, the poet-count of *Champagne*³, and other vassals who were jealous of the growing power of the crown, withdrew as soon as their forty days of service had run out. In

¹ By the treaty with the legate, vassals who refused to serve would, besides forfeitures, be subjected to excommunications and interdicts. Lewis was also to have 100,000 pounds yearly for five years, to be paid from the tenths which were levied from the clergy.

² It had its podestats and annual consuls, and belonged to the Empire, not to France.

³ Theobald was the knight of queen Blanche, a matron of forty, fourteen years older than himself. He was afterwards ridiculously accused of having managed to get Lewis poisoned.

September, Avignon capitulated⁴ in time to save the besiegers from being swept away by the flooding of the Durance; and Lewis, to whom Nismes, Alby, and Carcassonne had already tendered their submissions, was now able to strip poor Raymond Trencavel of the little which was left to him, and also to overrun most of Languedoc, the counts of Thoulouse and Foix helplessly keeping aloof. But his exertions overtasked his weak frame; and thus, as he was returning home, he sank under the epidemic which was still raging among his troops. He died at Montpensier in Auvergne⁵, Nov. 1226, after commending his eldest son, a child not twelve years old, to the care of his lords, and bequeathing the regency to Blanche, his widowed queen⁶.

A. D. 1226. *Lewis IX.* Opposition to the regent Blanche.

1227. Failure of the malcontents.

1229. Peter Mauclerc again revolts.—Treaty with Raymond⁷ at Paris.

1230. Henry III. invades France.

1231. Pacification of St. Aubin du Cormier.

1234. Theobald of Champagne becomes king of Navarre.

1235. Council of Narbonne. Ordinance of St. Denys.

1239. Majority of Lewis.

1237. Robert of France created count of Artois at Compiègne.

⁴ The French and Flemings in the garrison were massacred; a heavy fine and three hundred hostages were exacted; and large breaches were made in the walls of the city.

⁵ "*In centrīs montis morietur leo pacificus*," was said to have been a prophecy of Merlin. *Mont* and *Panse* (paunch) were now detected in the word Montpensier, and Lewis was from henceforth surnamed the *Lion*.

⁶ Lewis VIII., whose edict with regard to the Jews (see p. 238) was the first attempt at general legislation hazarded by the Capetians, had also made a will at Péronne, June 1225, in which he directed that his younger sons should have the appanages afterwards given them by St. Lewis.

- A. D. 1240. Raymond lays siege to Arles. Trencavel stirs up a revolt.
 1241. Submission of Raymond. Alfonso of France created count of Poitiers at Saumur.—The count of Marche forms a league against the king.
 1242. Henry III. defeated at Taillebourg and Saintes ; the count of Marche submits to Lewis.—Raymond seizes Narbonne ; Roger of Foix forsakes him.
 1243. Peace with Raymond. Treaty of Bordeaux with Henry III.
 1244. Siege of Montségur. Illness of Lewis ; he takes the cross.
 1246. Charles of France acquires Anjou and Provence. Arbitration of Lewis in Flanders.
 1248. *First Crusade of St. Lewis.*
 1249. Death of Raymond of Thoulouse.
 1250. Outbreak of the Pastoureaux.
 1252. The Jews exiled. Death of Blanche.
 1254. Return of St. Lewis. Restitutions.
 1256. Treaty of Péronne ; Flanders pacified.
 1258. Treaty of Corbeil with Arragon.
 1259. Treaty of Abbeville with England. Prince Lewis dies.
 1267. Lewis takes the cross at Paris.
 1269. Pragmatic sanction.
 1270. *The Last Crusade.* St. Lewis dies at Tunis.

LEWIS IX., owing to the firmness of his high-spirited mother (a woman eminently gifted with beauty and talent), was crowned at Rheims on the eve of St. Andrew⁷, notwithstanding the absence of many of the peers and barons who had been summoned to attend⁸. It was also thought fit to lower the ransom of the captive count of Flanders, and to set him free⁹.

⁷ By the bishop of *Soissons*, the archbishop of *Rheims* having died in Languedoc of the late epidemic.—Blanche had followed the advice of Romanus Bonaventura, the papal legate.

⁸ Hugh IV., duke of Burgundy, a boy of fourteen, was the only peer present. It was said by the malcontents that the counts of Flanders and Boulogne ought to be set free ; and that the ancient rights and liberties of the French barons should be solemnly confirmed.

⁹ Jane, his countess, was at the coronation, and disputed with

The regent Blanche had much to do. Her coarse brother-in-law, the rough-skinned Philip, count of Boulogne, had embittered the quarrel with the count of Champagne by forbidding him to be present at the coronation; and the king of England's allies, the counts of Britany and Marche¹, and the other recusant lords were likewise up in arms to fight the battle of feudal independence against the crown, now that they had only a woman and a child to deal with. Yet it was quickly seen that a union in which there were so many conflicting interests, was as a rope of sand. Blanche had the address to gain over the count of Champagne; who came to her at Tours, Feb. 1227, and did homage for his fiefs, setting the example of a desertion which spread so fast that, in less than a month, the army of the rebels had melted away. The counts of Britany and Marche, after being twice summoned, gave in their submission at Vendôme, and renounced the alliance with England.

Although count Philip had hitherto stood with the legate and the count of Dreux on the queen's side, he had never been trusted. The fact was now become too plain to be hidden. Enraged at the favour shown to a hated foe whom he had accused of having shortened the late king's life by witchcraft, and deeming himself to have been cunningly overreached; he railed at Blanche as loving the murderer of her husband², and he called upon the French lords to avenge his brother's death. Thus, in December,

Agnes, the wife of the excluded count of Champagne, the right of bearing the sword before the king. The count of Boulogne was then ordered to carry it, for that turn only.

¹ Their league with England had been made in October 1226, when the late king was overrunning Languedoc. It was also joined by Henry's brother Richard, who now styled himself count of Poitiers, by Savary de Mauléon, and by the viscount of Thouars.

² His faction also accused the queen of being the legate's paramour!

there was a plot to seize the young king at Orleans, and to put him under the guardianship of his uncle: but Blanche fled with her child to Montlhéry; and when she durst go no further, because of the enemy's force which had mustered at Corbeil, she besought the aid of the loyal citizens of Paris and was brought safely by them within their walls. Very different was the feeling of the great vassals towards the queen. When, in the spring, she advanced to the frontier of Britany, to attack Peter Mauclerc, their contingents were so scanty, that she was outnumbered; and had not Theobald of Champagne gallantly hastened to her rescue, she would have been driven out of the kingdom. As Theobald had no wife,—he had already divorced two,—Peter Mauclerc thought to wile him away from his allegiance by offering him the hand of his daughter *Violante*³: the wedding day was even settled and the damsel was waiting for her lover, when the fickle count suddenly changed his mind at the bidding of Blanche, to whom alone he was constant⁴.

In the beginning of the next year, Jan. 1229, Peter Mauclerc renounced his homage to Lewis; but was unable to hinder the queen from reducing Bellesme. *Hugh IV.*, the young duke of *Burgundy*, now forsook the alliance of Theobald, to marry a daughter of the count of Dreux⁵; and joined with his enemies the count of Boulogne,

³ This young lady had been twice engaged very lately; first to Henry III., and then to Charles, the youngest brother of the French king. She eventually married Hugh XI., the son and successor of the count of Marche.—See p. 259, note 3.

⁴ When Theobald's only daughter *Blanche* was afterwards affianced to Peter's son and heir, the queen got the Pope to refuse a dispensation; but she withdrew her opposition when her old friend married *Margaret of Bourbon*, by whom he had male issue.—See p. 259, note 3.

⁵ *Violante of Dreux*.—He was bound by a treaty not to marry any of that family.

Hugh V., count of *St. Pol*, and *Guy V.*, count of *Forez* and *Nevers*⁶, in encouraging *Alice*, the queen of *Cyprus*, to claim his fiefs⁷. These lords overran Champagne, towards Midsummer, meeting with no resistance to speak of (except at Troyes, which was saved by the seneschal *Simon de Joinville*)⁸: but *Blanche* brought her son with an army to the rescue, and they at once dispersed, when bidden, that they might not be guilty of felony. She is believed to have bribed *Hubert de Burgh*, the minister of *Henry* of England: for when the latter was about to embark for France, in September, it was found that there was not shipping enough in readiness to carry half his men. *Henry* landed, indeed, at *St. Maloes*, in the spring, May 1230, and was welcomed at *Nantes* by the count of *Britany*; yet he only disappointed the hopes of the malcontents⁹, being fonder of feasting than fighting, and his

⁶ *Guy* (or *Guigues*) was count of *Nevers* in right of the countess *Maud*, whom he had married after the death of *Hervey* (see p. 224, note 4).

⁷ *Alice* was the daughter of *Henry*, count of *Champagne* (the elder brother of *Theobald III.*, *Theobald's* father), by his questionable marriage with *Isabella* of *Jerusalem* (see vol. i., p. 68, note 7). She at last gave up her claims for money, Sept. 1234.—Her younger sister *Philippina's* husband, *Erard de Brienne*, had already tried to seize *Champagne*, notwithstanding an adverse decision of the French peers at *Melun* (July 1216); but had been forced to renounce his pretensions by *Blanche* of *Navarre*, the mother and guardian of *Theobald*. A fresh attempt of his ended also in a renunciation, Aug. 1227.

⁸ The lords of *Joinville*, who date from the eleventh century, were the seneschals of *Champagne*. *SIMON* was the father of the historian and crusader *JOHN*; whose son *ANCEL* married *Margaret*, the heiress of the county of *Vaudemont*. The dynasty ended (A.D. 1374) in *ANCEL's* grand-daughter *MARGARET*, the wife of *Ferry* of *Lorraine*, the younger branch of whose descendants, the dukes of *Guise*, had *Joinville*. By *MARY* of *Guise* it was bequeathed to her cousin *PHILIP*, duke of *Orleans*, April 1693.

⁹ Several of the Norman barons offered in vain to rise, if he would help them.

greatest achievements were a repulse before Saintes, and the petty capture of Mirabeau. While he was wasting his time, Lewis and his mother took Ancenis, and got the peers to sign a sentence of forfeiture against Peter Mauclerc¹, who had been summoned thither to stand his trial: on the other hand, when the royal camp had broken up, the lords renewed their ravages in Champagne, and Theobald was driven to seek a refuge in Paris. This dangerous feud, however, was healed by some timely concessions², Sept. 1230, a little while before Henry withdrew from France; and during the winter, the queen also gained over several of the chieftains in Britany, which she again invaded in May. Although Peter Mauclerc still stood firm, and her troops were drawn into an ambuscade by the English, under the earl of *Chester*, and their baggage lost; every one was by this time so weary of the war, that it was ended, July 1231, by a truce of three years, at the castle of St. Aubin du Cormier, the disputed claims of the kings of France and England to the homage of Britany being left unsettled.

About two years before, some of the students of Paris having been recklessly killed by the queen's soldiers, the doctors of the university had removed with their scholars to Angers, Orleans, and other cities³. Some of them even

¹ The sentence did not affect his son and daughter.

² Theobald, whose chief ally, Ferrand of Flanders, was jealous of him, and whose subjects were disaffected, agreed to go to the Holy Land as a penance; and Blanche and her son gave a vague promise to respect the rights and privileges of the realm.

³ Her routiers had slain several unoffending youths, by way of punishing a row between the students and the vintners of the Faubourg St. Marceau, at the close of the carnival.—Some years later, in May 1236, twenty of the students at Orleans were killed in a disgraceful row; and as some of them were kinsmen of Theobald, Peter Mauclerc, the count of Marche, and the lord of Bourbon, these nobles came and slew many of the townspeople.

went to England. Pope Gregory IX. had taken their part, and they had lately been triumphantly recalled ⁴.

While the wars of the regency were at their height, Blanche, with her usual address, had brought the great struggle in the south of France to a close, and secured the rich province of Languedoc for the crown. Yet at first, just after her husband's death, her prospects had not been bright. The friendship of Rome had cooled into down-right enmity ⁵; *Humbert de Beaujeu*, her lieutenant, was hard pressed by Raymond, whose courage had been much raised by the troubles throughout the kingdom; and at the siege of Vareilles, Jan. 1228, the veteran Guy of Montfort had fallen. But undismayed by the cruelty with which Raymond mutilated his captives, a fresh host of crusaders were led by bishops into the camp of Humbert, at the return of summer; and by the advice of a ruthless bigot ⁶, the whole of the country round Thoulouse was so thoroughly laid waste, that the people had no longer any heart or strength to carry on the war, and the spirit of the count himself was broken. By the beginning of December, *Elias Guerin*, abbot of *Grandselve*, was sent to treat with the legate Romanus and with the queen; Raymond pledging himself, in his despair, to abide by whatever Theobald of Champagne, as umpire ⁷, might sanction. When the terms were settled, the capitulation—for the treaty was nothing

⁴ As new seats of learning were thus established, this migration tended to the diffusion of knowledge.

⁵ Both Honorius III. and Gregory IX. openly sided with the English. Gregory even suspended the tax on the clergy for the war against Raymond; but Blanche's steady friend the legate had the order revoked.

⁶ Fouquet, the notorious bishop of Thoulouse.

⁷ Theobald, being the grandson of Mary of France (see p. 188, note 3), was first cousin once removed to Blanche and Raymond, whose mothers were daughters of Eleanor of Guienne by her second marriage.

else—was accepted at Meaux by all the parties concerned ; after which there was a final meeting at Paris, and the deed was executed in due form, April 1229. The vanquished count yielded up all his lands and fiefs in France to the king, all that belonged to him in the kingdom of Arles being likewise handed over to the legate ; and Lewis was to give back to him, but for his life only, the city of Thoulouse and about one-third of his old dominions⁸. Even though he should leave sons behind him, the reversion of the new fief was to become the dower of his daughter *Jane*, then nine years old ; who was to be put at once under the charge of *Blanche*, and to be affianced to one of the king's brothers : if there were no children born from this marriage, all was to escheat to the crown. He was moreover to pay a contribution of 25,000 marks within four years⁹, and to restore what he had seized from churchmen ; he was to pull down the walls of his towns and strongholds, to send away his mercenaries, and to admit French garrisons into the Narbonnese castle at Thoulouse and eight other citadels ; he was to persecute heretics, and to wage war with his former friends, especially with the count of Foix¹. And this treaty his own subjects were to be sworn to uphold against him, should he ever think of breaking it. To complete the triumph of priestcraft, on Good Friday, barefoot and stripped to his shirt and drawers, he waited at the gate of the cathedral for the legate ; and after being scourged, he was led before the high altar, and there he received absolution. His penance being over, he took the cross to fight

⁸ In the Toulousain, the fief acquired by Simon Montfort's marshal *Guy de Lévis*, "the Marshal of the Faith," was to be excepted from the territory restored.

⁹ Half of the money was to be given to churches ; the rest was to rebuild the fortifications of the ceded places.

¹ The count of Foix managed, however, with Raymond's help, to get terms of peace granted him in the month of June.

against the Saracens for five years²; and, at his own wish, he was kept in prison until his daughter and his castles had been given up. He then did homage to Lewis, and after being knighted by him on Whit-Sunday, returned home to his unhappy country.—In the year 1234, at the intercession of Blanche, the marquisate of Provence was restored to him by the Pope.

The ceded part of Languedoc was placed by the queen under the rule of the French seneschals already established at Carcassonne and Beaucaire³. Throughout the whole land, especially in what was still left to Raymond, there was great tribulation. For by a council at Thoulouse, Nov. 1229, the people were forbidden to read the word of God, and a priest and three laymen were appointed in each parish to search out heretics; so that many were burnt alive, many were buried in dungeons, and many besides had to undergo long penances, wearing yellow crosses on their garments⁴. The ways of what was already called the Inquisition were dark and underhand; and though torture was not yet in use⁵, men were ensnared by horrible arts into confession, and were never brought face to face with their accusers, their very names being often hidden from the judges who were to doom them. By a bull of Gregory IX., April 1233, the work was finally entrusted to the Dominicans; whose hateful system was carried out at the

² He eventually got a dispensation from this vow.

³ When Thoulouse was also annexed, in the year 1271, it became the seat of a third seneschal.

⁴ There soon arose fierce persecutions in Flanders, Germany, and Italy, many of the sectaries having fled into these countries and spread abroad their opinions.—In Flanders, in the year 1236, *Friar Robert the Bulgarian*—so called because he had once been a heretic—boasted of having burnt or buried alive fifty men and women in less than three months! Such, however, were his crimes, that all his zeal could not save him at last from being imprisoned for life.

⁵ It got into fashion about fifty years afterwards.

council of Narbonne, about two years afterwards, and provoked an outbreak at Thoulouse against it. The *capitouls*, or chief magistrates, having altogether put a stop to their ghastly proceedings,—corpses, dug out of the graves, had been brought to trial, and then dragged through the streets and burnt at the stake,—the grim friars marched forth from their convent, Nov. 1235, and the city was for a while laid under a fresh excommunication; which also fell upon the luckless Raymond, notwithstanding that he recalled the inquisitors as soon as he had heard of what had happened⁶. Yet the Pope, that very year, had shown a better feeling towards the Jews. For when thousands of these had been butchered in the towns of Spain, Aquitaine, Britany, and England, while a crusade was being preached; he threatened the vengeance of the Church upon all those who should baptize Jews by force, or violate their privileges, or do them any harm⁷.

The regent Blanche, in spite of all her zeal for orthodoxy, was firm in upholding every claim of the crown against the clergy. In the year 1227, she seized the temporalities of *Theobald*, archbishop of *Rouen*; who would not give account to the king for having excommunicated one of his officers without his leave, or even appear in civil causes before the Norman court of exchequer⁸, like all other barons. *Theobald* placed the royal castles and demesnes

⁶ He was then absent at the Emperor's court in Alsatia.—Moreover, at an interview with Blanche and her son, at Melun, in the fall of the year 1233, he had consented to enact a number of cruel articles against the heretics, and had thus given the fullest powers to the Dominicans. Happily for him, Fouquet had been dead since Christmas 1231.

⁷ The Israelites were not to be pelted with stones, nor to be scourged at festivals; nor were their dead bodies to be dug up and kept unburied till they were redeemed with large sums of money.

⁸ This supreme court of Normandy afterwards became the parliament of *Rouen*.

in his province under an interdict, and got the legate Romanus to order his goods to be restored to him. The dispute was rekindled, July 1232, by the seizure of the lands of *Maurice*, his successor, who had trodden in his steps: this archbishop also retaliated by an interdict which was further extended to every church in his diocese⁹, and the queen had again to yield. Moreover, in the beginning of the same year, when the people of Beauvais rose against a stranger whom she had forced upon their community as mayor; she encroached upon the rights of *Milo de Châtillon*, their bishop and lord, by bringing in her son to punish the rioters, some of whom were hanged, and others were either fined or banished, besides which a great many houses were pulled down. As the bishop would not defray the expenses of the young king's unwelcome visit¹, the possessions of his see were taken from him; on which he excommunicated the soldiers of Lewis, and put the whole of the diocese under an interdict². He likewise went to appeal to the Pope, whom he had lately been serving at great cost to himself with an army which he had raised; and though he died at Camarino in Italy, Sept. 1234, the next bishop carried on the quarrel a few years longer, and the province of Rheims was much troubled. At Rheims itself, the people drove out the cathedral

⁹ Once a week, the epistle and gospel were allowed to be read, and the commandments explained; but the images of the virgin were taken down, and placed on a bench in the nave, crowned with thorns, to show the grief of "the queen of heaven," the patroness of the church of Rouen. The Pope sided with Maurice, and wrote to the young king on his behalf.

¹ The *droit de gîte* (foderum); which he said he was not bound to pay.

² The interdict was extended by his brother bishops to the whole of the province of Rheims; but at a synod at St. Quentin, Dec. 1232, this was revoked by the influence of the cathedral chapters, who had not been summoned to the previous councils.

clergy and the archbishop ; which caused synods to be holden at St. Quentin and Compiègne³, wherein the grievances of the Church were set forth, and it was decided that monitions should be addressed to the king. When the second of these was made at St. Denys, Sept. 1235, there was a very strong feeling shown by the nobles against the clergy. The duke of Burgundy, the counts of Britany and Marche, the constable Amalric de Montfort, and about thirty other lay lords, even wrote a letter to the Pope, in which they protested against their aggressions ; and the ordinance seems likewise to have been then drawn up, which limited the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts, and subjected the clergy and their vassals, in all civil matters, to the judgment of the king and the peers⁴. The Pope sent Lewis an angry letter, Feb. 1236, bidding him revoke this ordinance : but no heed was paid to it⁵.

In May 1234, Theobald of Champagne, on the death of his maternal uncle *Sancho the Strong*, had been crowned at Pampeluna as king of Navarre. Luckily for him, James of Arragon, whom the deceased king had adopted, was then engaged in a war with the Moors of Valentia ; and the count of Boulogne, his worst foe, had died two months before—so seasonably indeed that many believed him to have been poisoned. As the queen of Cyprus, after the loss of her chief ally, became willing to give up her claims to Champagne for a pension, and money was wanting besides to keep his footing in a distant kingdom which added

³ At St. Quentin, July 1235 ; at Compiègne, in August.

⁴ As the church courts had engrossed most of the civil suits, it was enacted that (in such causes) no vassal should be forced to plead before them. Should any one be excommunicated for refusing, the temporalities of the judge were to be seized.

⁵ The king's demesnes in the province of Rheims had been laid under an interdict ; but in the beginning of the next year, he had addressed most of the real grievances of the archbishop.

more to his pride than to his strength ; Theobald sold to the crown his rights of sovereignty over the counties of Blois and Chartres and of Sancerre⁶, the fiefs of the two younger branches of his house, Sept. 1234. Another of the leading vassals, Ferrand of Flanders, had ended his career : he died in July, and his not over reputable widow next bestowed her hand upon *Thomas of Savoy*, who accordingly ruled in Flanders with the title of count while she lived. Robert III. of Dreux was also dead ; and as the truce with Peter Mauclerc, his brother, was over, the queen had sent Lewis, that summer, into Britany with an army. This campaign, though far from glorious, was not altogether fruitless. Undazzled by a gleam of success, the rebel count asked for a short armistice, during which he crossed over to England and found that Henry III. could afford him no help ; so he came to Paris, Nov. 1234, and there he signed a treaty of submission and returned to the allegiance which he had forsaken⁷. As pledges of his truth, three of his castles were to be put for a time into the hands of his sovereign.

⁶ When Champagne and Blois were divided after the death of Theobald the Great (June 1152),—see vol. i., p. 283, note 4,—STEPHEN I., his third son, got the lordship of Sancerre with the title of count. His male line ended, Feb. 1403, in JOHN III. ; whose daughter MARGARET was succeeded by BERARD, dauphin of *Auvergne*, her son by the second of her four husbands. Berard's only daughter JANE died childless, May 1436, after bequeathing the usufruct of her fiefs to her husband LEWIS, the first Bourbon count of *Montpensier*. Lewis and his posterity remained dauphins of Auvergne ; but, after some years, he was ousted from Sancerre by a decree of parliament in favour of JOHN *de Breuil*, the son of Berard's younger sister *Margaret*. By RENÉ *de Breuil*, in the year 1640, Sancerre was sold to HENRY, prince of Condé : it eventually belonged to the princes of Conty, the junior branch of the house of Condé.

⁷ He also engaged to serve for five years in the Holy Land, when his son should be of age ; and to redress the wrongs which he had done to his nobles.

Not long before, Lewis, when he was nineteen years old, had already had a wife sought out for him by his careful mother. He was married, May 1234, to *Margaret of Provence*, the eldest daughter of count *Raymond-Berenger IV.*; his bride, who was to have a dower of 10,000 marks, not being yet thirteen. For some years, Margaret remained under the care of the queen mother; who was so fearful of having her own influence over her son lessened, that to the last she would hardly let him be with his wife in the day time⁸. It was owing to this marriage that Lewis became the brother-in-law of his foe the king of England. For Henry, after he had been hindered by Blanche from an alliance with *Jane of Dammartin*, the heiress of *Ponthieu* and *Aumale*, bethought himself of *Eleanor*, the count of *Provence's* second daughter; and having sent ambassadors to fetch her from her father's court, he wedded her with great pomp, Jan. 1236.

Blanche had misunderstood her son. His childlike meekness, his dread of doing wrong, and the love and honour which he bore her, kept him in her leading-strings as long as she lived; but he was not a man to be ruled by a wife or by a favourite. Far from it. He was a law to himself; and no prince—not even Alfred the Great—was more unswervingly upright and self-denying. True, faithful, just, chaste, gallant, brave, loving, he was a saint from his youth, passing his days in work and prayer⁹; and

⁸ Lewis would sometimes sneak into his wife's apartments; ushers being stationed outside, to knock at the doors if they saw his mother coming.—Blanche had once the heart to drag him from the bedside of Margaret, when the latter was lying almost lifeless after giving birth to a child. "Alas," said the swooning princess, "neither dead nor alive will you let me see my lord!"

⁹ Even when on a journey, he would go through the prayers of the canonical hours as rigidly as if he were a monk; and at midnight even, he never failed to get up and pray. His temper was under the

though his soul was unhappily darkened by the superstition and cruel bigotry of the times¹, even sneering unbelievers have acknowledged in him the beauty of holiness, owning that he "united the virtues of a king, a hero, and a man." Ere he had ended his course, in him was shown how much more wisdom there is in the Christian single-mindedness which disarms mistrust, than in all the crooked ways of worldly policy. His throne was established by righteousness.

In April 1236, Lewis had reached the age of twenty-one. Shortly before, some of the nobles, still chafing under the rule of a woman, had combined in a league which was headed by the king of Navarre² and the counts of Britany and Marche; who had made up their quarrels, and whose new-born friendship was strengthened by inter-marriages between their children³. But they could do nothing. The king of England, with whom they were

most perfect control; and his alms and his fasts were unexampled, even in that age. So zealously indeed did he guard against his love of good cheer, that on flesh days he would mingle water with his wine and with his made dishes.

¹ His austerities wore out his frame. So precise was he, that he would try not to laugh on Fridays. A woman named *Sarrette* once reviled him as unfit to be the king of France; "he was the king of the friars and priests!" "I am not worthy indeed to be a king," he answered with a smile.—To heretics and infidels alone, he showed no pity. He deemed that a layman was not to run the risk of arguing with Jews or unbelievers; but to answer their scoffs by thrusting his good sword through their bodies with all his might and main.

² Either he saw the policy of conciliating the nobles, Champagne and Navarre being so far distant from each other; or he wished to recover what he had lately sold to the crown; or he burned to avenge an insult from Robert of France, who had thrown some soft cheese into his face when he came to visit Blanche.

³ Young John of Britany was accordingly married to Blanche of Champagne (Jan. 1236), and his only sister Violante to Lewis, the heir of Marche.—See p. 248, notes 3 and 4.

allied, had agreed to prolong the truce for five years, Feb. 1236; and when Lewis and Blanche led an army into Champagne, Theobald, instead of fighting, only sued for pardon, yielding up two of his castles, which were subsequently restored to him.

The following year, the Emperor Frederic II. having invited the leading princes of Christendom to a congress which was to be held, on Midsummer Day, at Vaucouleurs; Lewis was about to go thither, attended by a goodly array of lords, and knights, and squires, and men-at-arms, when word was brought to him that the meeting was put off. This brilliant chivalry he had gathered together, in the beginning of June, at Compiègne; and there, at his first plenary court, he had knighted his next brother *Robert*, and had given up to him Artois⁴, the appanage settled upon him by his father's will. More than a hundred of the noblest youths in France were also armed as knights at this high festival. That same year, Lewis had welcomed at his court the Latin emperor of the East, his kinsman *Baldwin II.*⁵: who thence went to the Netherlands, and

⁴ ROBERT I., *the Good*, count of Artois, who was now twenty-one, also married *Matilda*, the daughter of Henry II. of Brabant. He was killed in Egypt, Jan. 1250. His adventurous son ROBERT II., *the Illustrious*, was made a peer of France, Sept. 1297, about a month after his victory over the Flemings, near Furnes; but afterwards fell at Courtray, July 1302: he was succeeded by MAUD, countess of Burgundy, his daughter, to the prejudice of young Robert of Artois, the child of his deceased son Philip. Maud stoutly kept the fief while she lived; and at her death, it was inherited by her daughter JANE I., the dowager queen of France and the countess of Burgundy, Oct. 1339. From that time, Artois belonged to the owners of Franche-Comté (see p. 48, note 2); being finally ceded with it to France by the Spaniards, at the peace of Nimeguen, Sept. 1678. Part of the county, however, had then already been given up to the French at the peace of the Pyrenees (Nov. 1659).

⁵ During Baldwin's minority, John de Brienne had been called over to Constantinople, in the summer of the year 1231, and crowned

recovered the marquisate of Namur which his sister had usurped ; and also visited England, April 1238, being in want of men and money to carry on the war against the schismatical Greeks. Having returned to France, Baldwin got much help from the zealous king⁶, to whom he now offered to sell the true crown of thorns, a far-famed relic lately pawned to some Venetian and Genoese lords ; and this bargain would have been eagerly caught at,—although there was another true crown at St. Denys,—had it not been simony to traffic in holy things. Not to shock these scruples, the sale was changed into a gift ; the needy emperor taking good care to have a handsome present over and above the sum which was wanted to redeem the pledge. This done, two Dominican friars were sent to Constantinople to fetch the relic ; who, after a voyage of many months, came safely home with it, and were met by the king, who brought it with great solemnity into Paris, Aug. 1239. Lewis himself and his devout brother Robert, in shirts or tunics, with uncovered heads and naked feet, their eyes streaming with tears, bore the shrine upon their shoulders ; prelates and nobles, also bareheaded and barefoot, going before ; and a vast throng of people singing litanies with mingled feelings of joy and mourning. The holy crown was placed in the palace chapel of St. Nicholas ; which, having been again enriched, Aug. 1241, with relics furnished by Baldwin⁷ on like terms, and received with the same pomp, was afterwards rebuilt in a style most

emperor for life. He died, hated for his avarice, aged eighty-nine, March 1239.

⁶ He gave him money confiscated from the Jews, which he himself would not keep, it having been gotten by usury. And he afterwards advanced a large sum, for which Namur was mortgaged to him.

⁷ Such as a bit of the true cross, the seamless garment, the sponge, the lance, and other memorials of our Lord's sufferings.

truly magnificent¹. Yet though not unscathed by the superstition of the age, Lewis was not so blinded by it as ever to forget the rights of kings and nations, and to become the tool of papal tyranny: his lofty spirit was above such weakness. When Frederic II. had been excommunicated by Gregory IX., March 1239, and a legate came to offer the imperial diadem to Robert of Artois; the high-minded king and his barons declared their belief in the Emperor's innocence, and refused to comply with the behests of Rome. A subsidy which the Pope was raising in France, was likewise stopped².

All this while, the south of France was still in a very unsettled state. The count of Provence wanted to fasten his yoke upon the free cities of Arles, Avignon, Marseilles, and Nice: but after he had taken Nice, Nov. 1229, Raymond of Thoulouse had rescued Marseilles, and had been chosen lord of it, and of Avignon, for life; and the Emperor likewise encouraged the towns in their resistance. Blanche indeed brought about a truce between the rival counts, April 1236; nevertheless the zeal with which Raymond-Berenger sided with the Pope, and his driving out the imperial vicar from Arles, which city finally capitulated in August 1239, set every thing again in a blaze: he was

¹ This chapel is now known as the "*Sainte Chapelle*."

² Yet Lewis was not disposed to truckle to the Emperor. In the spirited letter which he wrote to demand the liberation of the French prelates who had been taken prisoners off Meloria (see p. 117), he reminded him that "the kingdom of France had not become so weakened as to let itself be trampled under foot." In fact, he had no fear of mortal man. When the Emperor sent a circular letter to the Christian princes, July 1241, announcing the dreadful inroad of the Tartars, Lewis is reported to have calmly said to his frightened mother: "Be of good cheer. If we conquer, we shall drive these Tartars into hell; if we be overcome, we shall owe to them our
into heaven!"

put under the ban of the Empire, Dec. 1239, and the other Raymond had a grant of part of his fiefs¹. That restless chieftain quickly gathered together an army, and reduced several places in Provence: he then laid siege to Arles, and was kept before it until the summer, when he broke up his camp and retreated. At this crisis, the despoiled Raymond Trencavel suddenly came from Arragon with a band of outlawed knights, his fellow-sufferers, to recover his own. In most of his country, his father's old vassals rose against the French: but though the gate of the borough of Carcassonne was opened to him by the people, the city itself held out till the approach of *John de Beaumont*, the chamberlain of Lewis, forced him to withdraw to Montreal, where he was besieged in his turn, Sept. 1240. So gallantly did he and his knights defend themselves, that when they surrendered, they were allowed to go back to Spain unmolested: the rest of those who were in the town had no pity shown them. Daunted now by the vigour with which this insurrection was quelled, Raymond of Thoulouse, having first submitted to Rome and forsaken the Emperor, betook himself to Lewis, who was at Montargis, and renewed his oaths and engagements to him, March 1241; after which, he also made peace with the count of Provence.

When the storm had thus been lulled, the king held a plenary court² of unwonted grandeur at Saumur in Anjou, June 1241. There he knighted his brother Alfonso, who, four years before, had married the heiress of Thoulouse; and he gave him for his appanage the counties of Poitou and Auvergne³. But as the former of these was still claimed

¹ Namely the county of Forcalquier and the lordship of Sisteron; which had been similarly granted ten years before.

² This "Cour plénière" was called "la Nonpareille."

³ Most of Auvergne having been confiscated by Philip Augustus, Lewis had restored part of it to *William IX.*, the rightful heir, about

by Henry of England, and had been conferred by him on Richard, earl of Cornwall; the count of Marche, sharply chidden by his wife Isabella for not having stood up for the rights of her own children, suddenly rose against the king and his newly-created lord. The first thing he did was secretly to get together a fresh league, into which he inveigled his step-son Henry; and besides Raymond of Thoulouse, who agreed to marry his daughter⁴ and was right glad to plunge again into war, Theobald of Navarre, Trencavel, and the kings of Arragon and Castille, promised to side with him. He then betook himself to Poitiers, whither Alfonso had summoned a plenary court at Christmastide; but instead of doing homage, he swore even to his face, in the open street, that he would never be his vassal; and that his kinsman had been robbed of his fief while serving God in the Holy Land and rescuing the Christian captives. When he had flung forth this bold defiance, he sprang upon his horse and rode away with his haughty wife; his retainers, who had wantonly set fire to the house where they had lodged, marching with their cross-bows ready bent.

The following spring, although the English barons had refused to help in breaking the truce with France, Henry III. landed at the mouth of the Gironde, with his brother Richard⁵, three hundred knights, and thirty hogsheads of silver. His step-father and a number of vassals and allies

the year 1230. The rest was erected into a new county, now given to ALFONSO; and afterwards became a duchy, Oct. 1360, when granted by John II. to his son JOHN, duke of Berry.

⁴ Raymond had lately divorced Sanchia of Arragon, with the consent of her nephew, king James: for he wanted to have a son, as he still hoped to set aside the treaty which had constituted Alfonso his heir. He had contracted himself to Sanchia of Provence, July 1241; but neither for this alliance, nor for his marriage with Margaret of La Marche, could he ever get a dispensation from Rome.

⁵ Richard had just returned from his crusade.

having gathered around his standard, after some fruitless negotiations, he declared war against Lewis ; who, at the head of a force far greater than his own, had been reducing the strongholds of the count of Marche in Lower Poitou. When, however, the two armies encountered each other on the banks of the Charente, July 1242, the French crossed the river, and the confederates fell back in much confusion from Taillebourg to Saintes :—the rout would have been complete, and Henry must either have been taken or slain, had not his brother gone forth with only a pilgrim's staff in his hand, and begged for a short armistice⁶. The next day, there was a bloody, but rambling fight in the vineyards near Saintes, in which the Plantagenet king was again worsted. These reverses so disheartened the count of Marche, that he made secret overtures to Lewis ; which suddenly came to the ears of Henry, about a week after the battle, together with the alarming tidings that the men of Saintes were going to let his foes into the town at night. The frightened king, who was sitting down to table, left his dinner untasted, and fled with his troops to Blaye ; thence he afterwards retreated to Bordeaux, where he spent what little money he had remaining. When the French had entered Saintes in triumph, the count of Marche and his wife and children threw themselves on their knees at the feet of their sovereign, and were pardoned⁷: other

⁶ Richard asked to be led to the count of Artois ; who introduced him to Lewis, by whom he was thanked for his services to the French crusaders in Palestine.

⁷ Aug. 1242. Policy as well as mercy made Lewis lenient. He was anxious to divide and weaken the league.—His brother Alfonso was not so merciful. The next year, when a knight accused the count of Marche of felony, and the gauntlet was taken up, he would not let the eldest son of the old man fight for him. Lewis interposed, to the great satisfaction of the indignant nobles, and the affair was settled without bloodshed.

lords also followed their example. Lewis might perhaps have gone on and conquered Guienne, had not the badness and the scarcity of food in a country which had been wasted before him, and the heat of the summer, already sown the seeds of a fever and dysentery which broke out with such fury that his army dwindled to a shadow. He himself returned sick to Paris, and nothing more was done till the winter was over, when a truce for five years was signed at Bordeaux, April 1243⁸. And in a parliament at Paris, in the beginning of the year 1244, those lords who held fiefs under both kings were told that no man could serve two masters; and that they must therefore either give up their lands in any of Henry's territories, or cease to be vassals of France. By this bold and wise policy, the French monarchy was greatly strengthened.

At the time that Lewis was busily engaged in Lower Poitou, Raymond of Thoulouse, with *Roger IV.*, count of *Foix*⁹, and a league of southern lords, had declared war against him in Languedoc. When their forces were gathered together, June 1242, Raymond had rapidly won back much of the country which once belonged to him; and on reaching Narbonne, he was received as its duke by the viscount, while the archbishop fled and excommunicated him. But the Spanish kings did not move; his confederates in Aquitaine were beaten; and Henry III., whom he visited at Bordeaux, in August, and with whom he renewed his alliance, was not to be trusted: the count of Marche had even been bidden to attack him; and the count of Foix himself lost all hope, and wrote to tell him that he had withdrawn his homage, and transferred it to

⁸ Henry ceded the isle of Rhe, and was to pay 25,000*l.* in five yearly instalments.

⁹ He had succeeded his father in May 1241.—The counts of *Armagnac*, *Comminges*, and *Rodez* were also in the league.

the king (Oct. 1242). There being no help for it, Raymond had to send in his unconditional submission; pledging himself, if pardoned, to deal most severely with the heretics, especially those by whom some wretched inquisitors had been murdered¹. Happily for him, it was not in the nature of Lewis to crush a fallen foe. He had only to do homage again at Lorris, Jan. 1243, after every thing had been restored to its former footing: but in the same month, the count of Foix was received as an immediate vassal of the crown, and by his defection the house of Thoulouse was still further weakened. From henceforth all opposition to the king was at an end, and the proudest of the peers dreamed of feudal independence no more. The higher qualities indeed of their diffident sovereign had hardly yet been discovered, although he was now twenty-seven years of age;—there was nothing striking in his person or bearing, and his mind could not be called brilliant;—but men had learned to dread his power, and it was felt that his truth and moderation could always be relied on.

The joy which was caused by the peace, and by the birth of a son, who was named after his father, Feb. 1243, was much overclouded when it was found that the king had not recovered his health. His weakness of body continued until the close of the next year; and then, at the season of Advent, while he was at Pontoise, a fierce attack of his old sickness brought him well-nigh to death's door. Two

¹ Some heretics, having sallied from their stronghold at Mirepoix, had surprised the castle of Avignonet in the night, and had hacked in pieces with their axes thirteen of the inquisitors; who bravely met their death on their knees, singing the "*Te Deum*," May 1242.—The Inquisition again raged worse than ever. At length, another crusade was preached in Languedoc, and the castle of Montségur in the Pyrenees, the last refuge of the heretics, was besieged, March 1244, and was stormed after a long defence. Two hundred persons were then and there burnt alive.

days before Christmas², suddenly recovering his speech when seemingly lifeless, he called for the bishop of *Paris* to come and give him the cross ; nor could the tears and remonstrances of his wife and mother shake him from his purpose³. He would taste no food until they let him have his way. So deeply had his soul been stirred within him, that even his failing body felt the influence : for he not only rapidly got better, but from thenceforth was less sickly than he had been as a young man. Having returned to *Paris* in *March*, he convened a parliament of the lords of the kingdom ; and in this assembly, during the octave of *St. Denys* (*Oct. 1245*), the crusade was preached by the legate *Eudes de Châteauneuf*, cardinal-bishop of *Tusculum*, and undertaken by a crowd of prelates, nobles, priests, and warriors. Among the chief laymen were the count of *Artois*, whose example was followed by the rest of the king's brothers ; the duke of *Burgundy* ; *Peter Mauclerc*, and *John I.*, count of *Dreux* ; two of the *Dampierres*, the sons of the countess of *Flanders* ; *John II.*, the valiant count of *Soissons* ; *John de Montfort*, *Amalric's* son ; and the counts of *Marche* and *St. Pol*⁴. Out of

² On that day, the shrines at *St. Denys* which held the relics of martyrs, had been placed on the altar and carried in procession through the church. To this act of devotion, the king's recovery was attributed by the superstition of the age.

³ *Blanche* and the bishop of *Paris* afterwards telling him that a vow made in a fever was not binding, the latter adding that the Pope would even give him a dispensation if he would contribute to the war against the Emperor ; he quietly tore off the cross, and then bade them give it him back ! At Christmas, in the year 1245, he had crosses secretly sewed upon the new cloaks which were then given to the gentlemen of his household ; so that his poor courtiers, when they entered the chapel with him at early mass, strangely mingled tears with laughter on finding that they had put on, in the dusk, the holy sign which they would have been ashamed to strip off !

⁴ These two counts never went out. The count of *St. Pol* died in April 1248, and the count of *Marche*, the year after.

France, not much zeal was displayed. The only sovereign who would take the cross, was the bastard *Haco V.*, of Norway : who was offered the command at sea by Lewis ⁵, if he would join his fleet ; but excused himself on the plea that the French and the Norwegians were too fiery to be safe comrades. Indeed it was to please the Pope, by whom he wanted to be legitimated, that Haco had become a crusader ; so that when he had been crowned at Bergen by the cardinal-bishop of *Sabino* (July 1247), he managed to be released from his vow by pledging himself to wage war with the neighbouring heathen.

Before St. Lewis started upon his expedition, he tried his utmost to appease the troubles of Christendom by reconciling the Pope and the Emperor. He had refused to be present at the council of Lyons by which Frederic was excommunicated ⁶ ; and that same year, when he and Blanche came with great pomp to Clugny and had a conference with the Pope (Dec. 1245), he is believed to have pleaded right earnestly for his brother monarch ⁷. At another conference, also at Clugny (April 1246), when Frederic in his distress had empowered him to make proffers of the fullest submission, he saw at last that his well-meant efforts were utterly fruitless : having besought Innocent—were it

⁵ In the year 1247.—Lewis employed as his agent the English Benedictine *Matthew Paris*, the historian ; who happened to have been sent to Norway on the business of his order.

⁶ Just before his attack of sickness, Michaelmas 1244, when Lewis was at Citeaux, where a general chapter of the Cistercians had met, five hundred monks threw themselves at his feet, and begged him to defend the Church against the Emperor. But he also fell upon his knees before them, saying that he would defend the Church ; and that he would receive the exiled Pope—if the council of his nobles consented to it.

⁷ He is thought to have refused an offer of the crown of England. Its owner, Henry III., by supporting Frederic, his imperial brother-in-law, had then offended the Pope.

only for the sake of the thousands of crusaders who would have to seek food and shelter in the ports of Calabria and Sicily—to imitate the mercy of Him of whom he was the vicar on earth, he withdrew bitterly grieved at the hardness of the pontiff's heart, and quite resolved to give him no help. So strong was the feeling which then prevailed against the clergy, that there was a bond signed by the French lords, Nov. 1246, which organized a league to check their encroachments and to uphold each others' rights; the duke of Burgundy, Peter Mauclerc, and the counts of Marche and St. Pol being chosen as leaders to carry this out. The Pope, in high wrath, bade the legate fulminate excommunication upon all who were members of the league, or should in any way abet it: none of its oaths was to be binding, nor were the contumacious and their children ever to be allowed to take orders or to hold a benefice. Yet he could stoop to wile away several of the lords from the association, by tempting offers of prebends for their kinsmen.

Standing aloof from quarrels which he had no hope of settling, St. Lewis sought to establish peace in his kingdom wherever he could. Called upon by Margaret II., the new countess of Flanders, to arbitrate in the civil war which had broken out between her children^a; he, with the sanction of the legate Eudes, July 1246, awarded the

^a Margaret, in her youth, had two children, John and *Baldwin*, by her guardian the archdeacon Bossaert (or Bouchard) d'Avesnes, canon of St. Peter's at Lisle. When this man was at Rome, seeking for a dispensation to marry her (or perhaps, to have an irregular marriage ratified), she gave her hand to William de Dampierre, the second son of Guy de Dampierre and *Matilda*, heiress of *Bourbon*; and by him she had three sons and a daughter. The D'Avesnes were declared to be illegitimate by Pope Gregory IX., in the year 1236; but soon after the death of their step-father, the Emperor Frederic II. granted them letters of legitimation, March 1242. They also asserted that by the custom of Flanders "*nul n'est bâtard de par sa mère.*"

succession to Hainault after her death to her sons by *Bossaert d'Avesnes*, and the inheritance of Flanders to the children which she had by her husband *William of Dam-pierre*. Raymond of Thoulouse, after he had been again baffled in his designs upon Provence, was invited to Paris, March 1247, and persuaded to take the cross⁹; which was also done by many of the outlawed knights of Languedoc, and by Trencavel himself, who gave up all claim to his forfeited territories, and accepted a yearly pension. The friars of both orders, as well as the king's bailiffs and officers, were commissioned to inquire throughout the land, if any one had been wronged by the royal judges, or by the tax-gatherers; and to promise restitution. Upon this, Richard earl of Cornwall, who was then in France and had married Sanchia, queen Margaret's sister, pleaded strongly, in behalf of his brother, for the restoration of Normandy: but the counsellors of Lewis were for upholding the sentence of the court of peers; and the Norman bishops, to whom the case of conscience was referred, argued further that possession for forty years constituted a valid title by prescription.

A good while before these events, Feb. 1239, the king had agreed to buy the county of Mâcon¹, which belonged

⁹ The duchy of Narbonne was to be restored to him for life.

¹ WILLIAM IV., who seized on Mâcon in the year 1127 (see p. 47, note 2), was the father of *Stephen*, count of *Châlons*, and of *GIRARD*, count of Mâcon and Vienne. WILLIAM V., the son of the latter, was succeeded, in the year 1224, by his grand-daughter ALICE and her husband JOHN DE BRAINE (son of Robert II. of Dreux). On becoming a widow, Alice gave up that particular county of Vienne which she held to her aunt *Beatrice*; whose son *Hugh de Pagny* afterwards sold it to the archbishop of Vienne, A.D. 1250.

Mâcon was granted by Charles the Wise, when regent, to his brother JOHN, May 1359; and erected into a peerage, the September

to *Alice*, the wife of a younger son of the house of Dreux, named *John de Braine*, who was then going on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land from which he never returned. The transaction was not completed until the latter part of the year 1245, when the fief was yielded up by the widowed countess ; who, being weary of the world, took the veil, and ended her days as an abbess. About that time, Raymond-Berenger of Provence had died at Aix, prematurely old, Aug. 1245, after confirming the will² by which he had bequeathed his dominions to Beatrice, the youngest of his four daughters.

Beatrice had been affianced to Raymond of Thoulouse, with whom her father had just been reconciled at the council of Lyons by the Pope ; so that a great power might again have risen up in the South, by which the monarchy of the Capetians would have been crippled : on the other hand, the king of Arragon wanted to marry her to his eldest son, that her domains might not be lost to his family. But though she was at once acknowledged as countess in Provence, the people were unwilling for the sake of either of these suitors to be drawn into a war with Lewis, who had sent troops to recover the inheritance of his wife ; and therefore they eagerly hailed the proposal of a match between their new mistress and the king's youngest brother Charles, a prince who had all that talent, and spirit, and love of rule for which queen Blanche was so remarkable. Outwitted by *Romieu de Villeneuve*, the minister of Beatrice, and shamelessly forsaken by the

following. John dying childless, June 1416, it lapsed to the crown ; but at the treaty of Arras, it was ceded to Burgundy, Sept. 1435. After the death of *Charles the Bold*, Jan. 1477, it was again annexed to the crown by Lewis XI.

² Signed at Sisteron, June 1238, by the advice of his patriotic minister *Romieu de Villeneuve*.

Pope³, Raymond, who had betaken himself to Aix, where indeed he already found the king of Arragon, could not stand his ground before the French. In vain did he and the Spanish prince become allies. While they both withdrew crest-fallen, all the strongholds of Provence opened their gates at the approach of Charles, whose marriage with Beatrice accordingly took place amid loud rejoicings, Jan. 1246. Lewis not only solemnly waived his right in favour of his aspiring brother; but when he knighted him, the following Whitsuntide, at Melun, he bestowed upon him the counties of Anjou and Maine as his appanage⁴.

Having settled all his worldly affairs, and given the regency into his mother's hands, Lewis, when the time came for his departure, June 1248, repaired to St. Denys, to take the Oriflamme and to receive the staff and wallet

³ Romieu had advised him to come to Aix without troops, "not to give offence;" and the Pope, though he annulled the count's uncanonical union with Margaret of La Marche, never sent him the promised dispensation for his marriage with Beatrice, who was his kinswoman.

⁴ This grant was confirmed at Orleans, in August.—Anjou and Maine were given by CHARLES' son CHARLES *the Lame*, king of Naples, as the dower of his daughter MARGARET, to CHARLES of France, count of Valois, Aug. 1290; and by PHILIP of Valois, the child of that marriage, they were again united to the crown of France. They were re-granted by John II. to his second son LEWIS I., Oct. 1360, Anjou being raised to the rank of a peerage-duchy. Lewis, who afterwards had a life-grant of the duchy of Touraine and also obtained Provence in right of his adoption by Joanna of Naples, was succeeded by his son LEWIS II.; then followed his grandsons LEWIS III. and REGNIER, the latter of whom dying without direct heirs male, July 1430, Anjou was seized by Lewis XI. of France.

Maine had already been separated from Anjou. It had been held as a jointure by Regnier's mother; and after her death, Nov. 1442, it had fallen into the possession of her youngest son CHARLES, to whom the reversion of it had been ceded by Regnier about two

of a pilgrim¹. He then went on to Aigues-Mortes², whence he set sail, in August, for Limisso in Cyprus, with his wife and his brothers Robert and Charles; Alfonso remaining at home until the next year, as Blanche wanted his help. So late were many of the crusaders in reaching the island named as the place of meeting, that it was thought best to winter there. To the court of Lewis, at Nicosia, Baldwin of Constantinople sent *Mary*, his consort, in shabby guise³, to implore fresh aid: thither also hastened the envoys of the king of *Armenia* and the prince of *Antioch*, and even some Tartars who gave themselves out to be the ambassadors of a mighty khan who had actually been baptized, and whose hordes were about to conform to the Christian faith! A deadly sickness, however, broke out among the French warriors, by which John of Montfort and the count of Dreux were cut off; and when, at the end of the next spring, Cyprus was left behind and the fleet was on its way to Egypt, a storm scattered most of the ships, and weakened the expedition at the very outset. It has already been told how the crusade mis-

years before (Aug. 1440). By Charles' son CHARLES II., who died childless, Dec. 1481, Maine and Provence were bequeathed to Lewis XI. of France.

¹ As he would wear no fine clothes while a pilgrim, he ordered the money thus saved to be given to the poor people who usually had his cast-off garments.

² Lewis, wanting to have a port in his own territory, had founded a town at Aigues-Mortes, and strongly fortified it. But the coast of Languedoc being low and marshy, the place was unhealthy, and the sands choked the harbour. The port is now half a league from the town. On his way to Aigues-Mortes, he took the castle of the freebooting lord of Gluy; but refused to molest Avignon. "I have taken the cross," said he, "to avenge the wrongs of Jesus Christ, not those of my father or my own."

³ The historian, Joinville, whom Lewis had sent to meet her, compassionately made her a present of a gown.

carried^a; how the count of Artois lost his life; and how the king and the wretched remains of his fine army fell into the power of the infidels, April 1250. A large ransom and the surrender of Damietta saved the leaders and the men of rank^b: but the poor soldiers and camp followers who were suffering from illness, or who would not be circumcised and deny the faith, were savagely butchered. Three days after the tidings of the king's captivity had reached Damietta, his queen, who was staying there with the countesses of Poitiers and Anjou, gave birth to her son *John*, and surnamed him *Tristan*, because of the sorrow and trouble which had come upon her^c.

When Lewis had been set free, he betook himself to Acre: for he would not leave either the prisoners in Egypt, or the distressed Christians in Palestine, without help. On his landing, May 1250, he was heartily welcomed as a brave and undaunted champion of the cross; and, owing to the feud between the Egyptian chiefs and the sultan of Aleppo, which had arisen when the latter became master of the revolted city of Damascus, he was soon able to dictate terms to his conquerors, and to recover the rest of the captives. In the field, however, he could do nothing. The ranks of the crusaders had again been thinned by sickness, and his brothers and his barons were eager to get back to France; so that, before he had been many weeks

^a See Part III., vol. i. pp. 75 and 76.

^b When 200,000 livres, half of the money stipulated, were paid, Lewis' knights managed to cheat the Mamelukes of 10,000 livres: but he would not avail himself of such trickery.

^c Just before her labour, she knelt down before an aged knight, past eighty, whom she caused to sleep in her room, and besought him to swear to grant her whatever she was about to ask. When he learned that she wanted him to cut off her head, should the infidels ever get into the town, he bade her rest assured, as he had already meant to do something of the kind!

in the Holy Land, councils were held in which it was resolved to hasten away, only *Simon de Joinville*, the marshal of Champagne², and two others, being for remaining another year, as the count of *Jaffa* had suggested. He himself would not leave: but though he offered to pay largely, he had hardly any soldiers, and his chief employment was to strengthen the defences of the Latin Christians in the Holy Land. With his help, Cæsarea, Jaffa, Sidon, and Acre were well fortified.

While he was away, there was a great stir in Europe, owing to the death of the Emperor Frederic II., Dec. 1250, and the war which was preached by the monks against Conrad IV. So indignant were Blanche and the French lords that the Pope should thus have forgotten the interests of Lewis, and destroyed his last hopes of a re-inforcement, that they denounced forfeiture upon all who should go into Germany to fight in this new crusade. Raymond of Thoulouse was also dead. His voyage to Egypt having been delayed³, he had died at home, of a fever, after making a will in which he named his daughter as his heiress, and bequeathed a number of legacies. None of these were ever paid by his son-in-law, for whom Blanche at once secured Thoulouse and the March of Provence in right of the Treaty of Paris only. Nor did Alfonso, after his return from Acre, even care to live in Languedoc; thus letting its ancient capital sink into a mere provincial town. Yet before he finally withdrew to his castle of Vincennes, near Paris, he and his brother Charles compelled the re-

² The friend of St. Lewis and the historian of the crusade.

³ Lest this delay should seem to have risen from want of zeal, he had lately had fifty heretics burned in his presence at Agen.—Such was the spirit of the persecution in Languedoc, that at the council of Valence, Dec. 1248, it was decreed that no lawyer should plead for arraigned heretics, and that all who helped those unhappy persons

!! share their doom!

publicans of Avignon to acknowledge their joint lordship, at Beaucaire, May 1251; and on no occasion afterwards, did he fail to undermine the freedom of the cities within his territory. Charles carried out the same policy, forcing Arles, and—after a long struggle—Marseilles, to submit to his yoke.

In the spring of the year 1251, a cry went forth among the common people in France, that their much loved king and the Holy Land were to be delivered from peril, not by pampered churchmen and proud knights, but “by the weak and base things of the earth which God had chosen to confound the mighty.” This gave rise to the outbreak of the *Pastoureaux*, or Herdsmen. At the stirring call of an unknown man, believed to have been a Hungarian⁴, the simple shepherds every where forsook their masters and their flocks, gathering after him in troops which were quickly swollen by a ribald rout of thieves, excommunicated persons, and runaway slaves; and besides these were heretic preachers⁵, who, in the shelter of an armed congregation, could safely rail against their old foes the clergy. On St. Barnabas’ Day, June 1251, a rash student at Orleans reviled a preacher as a liar, and bade him hold his tongue: but this foolish attempt to uphold the bishop’s authority provoked an onslaught upon the priests, twenty-five of whom were slain, or else drowned in the Loire, and the rest were beaten and wounded. Blanche, who, at first, had rather favoured the *Pastoureaux*, became thoroughly alarmed; she now saw that it was high

⁴ He could speak Latin, German, and French; and is said to have pretended to hold in his closed hand a letter from the Virgin Mary to the peasants. He seems, however, to have been a fanatic as well as an impostor.

⁵ These—no doubt they were some of the very wildest of their class—have been accused of freely pronouncing divorces and solemnizing unlawful marriages.

time to put them down. This was speedily done. When their leader had reached Paris, and was holding forth in his wonted manner, an executioner slipped through the crowd with an axe, and suddenly felled him to the ground; a body of knights then rushed out from ambush, and killed and scattered his followers. After that, the popular feeling turned against the Pastoureaux: their other bands broke up; and they were hunted out, like wild beasts, in every part of France.

There were also troubles in Aquitaine, owing to the misgovernment of the English. They had indeed been quelled for a time by *Simon*, earl of *Leicester*⁶, *Simon de Montfort's* fourth son, who had been appointed governor of the province for five years: but such was the harshness of his rule, that the Gascons at last rose up in arms, and sought to transfer their allegiance to the crown of Castille. King Henry sent his eldest son Edward to take the place of the ruthless earl; and the next year, Aug. 1253, he himself came over with a respectable force, and retrieved matters, behaving, for once, with vigour and with wise moderation. Flanders likewise was again disturbed. For William of Dampierre having died childless after he had come home from the Holy Land, June 1251, the succession of his brother Guy was opposed by the discontented John d'Avesnes; and thus there broke out a harassing war, in which Guy became a prisoner and the countess Margaret called upon Charles of Anjou for help⁷. Charles made himself master of Valenciennes, in the year 1254, and overran Hainault.

In December 1252⁸, *Blanche* died. Her health sud-

⁶ Leicester had married *Eleanor*, the sister of Henry III.

⁷ See p. 129, note 6.—Margaret had not allowed the D'Avesnes to marry in her lifetime, though she had let the Dampierres

⁸

to Joinville, twelve months later.—Not long before

denly failing, she had gone to Paris ; and there, a few days before her end, she had put on the veil of a Cistercian nun. Lewis was well-nigh heart-broken when he heard that he had lost his mother ; yet it was good for him that he should have to rely upon himself, and from thenceforward he stood higher in the opinion of his subjects. The king of Navarre, Blanche's old admirer, died also, July 1253, and was succeeded by his son *Theobald II.* And in Castille, a new sovereign, Alfonso the Wise, had ascended the throne (May 1252).

On St. Mark's Eve, which was likewise the eve of his birthday, April 1254, St. Lewis set sail homewards from Acre. His ship struck on a sand-bank near Cyprus, and was much damaged : but for the sake of the many hundred persons who were on board⁹, he would not leave it. Holding on his course, he landed, in July, at the port of Hières in Provence, which belonged to his brother Alfonso ; the wind not allowing him to disembark on his own coast. When at last he entered Paris, all who beheld him were struck with the sadness of his looks ; and it was remarked that he still dressed most plainly, rather like a pilgrim than a prince. So troubled indeed was he, after his mother's death, by the difficulties which beset him when he strove to rule conscientiously¹, that he would have resigned the

her illness, she nobly took the part of the villagers of Chatenay, whom their lords, the chapter of Notre Dame of Paris, were starving into submission in unwholesome dungeons. The chapter replied to her remonstrances by stuffing in the wives and children of their unhappy vassals to increase the pressure ; on which, in spite of loud threats of excommunication, she burst open the prison, giving the first blow upon the doors with her staff.

⁹ He foresaw that the vessel would then be abandoned, and that they would be left to shift for themselves at Cyprus.

¹ When he was in the Holy Land, he would have restored Normandy to Henry III., if he would come and join him : but his barons

crown and become a Dominican friar: it was with much ado that his wife, and his eldest son, and his brother Charles hindered him. Unhappily for his subjects, his misguided zeal, displayed of late in banishing all the Jews in his dominions and seizing their goods², had also led him to beseech the Pope to extend the powers of the Inquisition, which had hitherto been confined to Languedoc; and accordingly a bull was addressed to the two great mendicant orders by Alexander IV., bidding them track out and hunt down the heretics in all the rest of France, Dec. 1255³.

Alone among kings, Lewis had the honesty to practise the rare virtue of restitution. He himself went about the provinces near Paris, redressing wrongs; and commissaries were sent throughout the kingdom, to inquire into every case in which any thing had been unjustly annexed to the royal possessions, not only in his days but in those of his predecessors. And this was done fully and fairly: for even when the right owner could no longer be found, the value of what had been taken was given to the poor. Another blessed work to which he set himself heart and

and his brothers protested against it. His mind was ill at ease about this, and other claims for restitution.

² In the year 1252 or 1253, while away from home; the Saracens having twitted the crusaders with the favour shown to the murderers of Christ.—Lewis was not more favourable to the Christian usurers who replaced the Jews. These were the Cahorsins (from the town of Cahors), and the Lombards and Tuscans. We find that he ordered the money-lenders from Asti to be arrested throughout France, and their property confiscated (Sept. 1254). By a later decree, Jan. 1268, he banished from the kingdom all the Lombards and Cahorsins who were bankers.

³ About this time, there was a feud between the Dominicans and *William de St. Amour's* supporters, the secular doctors of the University of Paris. It lasted some years, and was remarkable for the excommunication of the doctors, on account of their sturdy resistance to his bull, issued in March 1255.

soul, was that of a peace-maker. The war in Flanders was settled under his auspices by the treaty of Péronne, Sept. 1256, when John d'Avesnes had been weakened by the death of William of Holland: the former award was then confirmed, and Charles of Anjou withdrew from Hainault, a compensation in money being secured to him⁴. The unprofitable sovereignty of France over Catalonia and Roussillon was wisely given up at Corbeil⁵, May 1258; James of Arragon also renouncing all the fiefs which he either held or claimed in Languedoc and Auvergne, the lordship of Montpellier alone excepted⁶. In the same spirit was the king of England dealt with, who might have been driven out of Guienne⁷. Lewis so far yielded to his counsellors as to keep the provinces which had become thoroughly French, and therefore insisted that Henry should abandon all right to Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and Poitou: but he deemed their confiscation to have been a great stretch of power, and had the moderation to make great concessions for the sake of a lasting peace. Thus he

⁴ The old dispute with the counts of Holland about the homage for West Zeeland was also made up at Brussels, in October; Guy of Dampierre ceding his claim of lordship to Florence V., who agreed to marry his daughter Beatrice.

⁵ Lewis kept well with the Spanish kings. By Joinville's advice, he had given his daughter *Isabella* to young Theobald of Navarre, April 1255; and in the following August he contracted his son Lewis to *Berengaria* of *Castille*, as yet the presumptive heiress of Alfonso X. His son Philip was also married, May 1262, to Isabella, the daughter of James of Arragon. And when Alfonso was elected king of the Romans, Lewis for a while acknowledged him.

⁶ In the year 1264, James tried in vain to contest the right of the citizens to appeal against him to the royal seneschal of Beaucaire.

⁷ Guienne indeed was full of strongholds, and its conquest might have alarmed the great vassals. Still, as Mr. Hallam remarks, "it is the privilege only of virtuous minds to see that wisdom resides in moderate counsels."

finally agreed, at Abbeville, May 1259, to cede the Limousin, Périgord, and his other conquests in the Quercy; besides which, the Agénaïs and lands in Saintonge were to be restored after the deaths of the count and countess of Poitiers, he himself undertaking in the meanwhile to pay their yearly value⁸. In the beginning of December, Henry III. did homage at Paris, in the garden of the Temple, as duke of Guienne. That prince, in the time of his troubles, found him indeed to be a true friend; and he might well be satisfied with his sentence of arbitration at Amiens, Jan. 1264, which annulled the provisions of Oxford, and was angrily rejected by the barons of Leicester's faction, although it ratified all the good customs and charters of liberties before that date⁹.

It seemed a strange policy for a sovereign to strip himself of his conquests, to forego unquestionable rights, and to heal the feuds of vassals whose union might become highly dangerous to his rule; yet no real power was lost by it in the end. The supremacy of the crown had already the support of the clergy, the lesser nobles, and the inhabitants of the chartered towns, to all of whom it was a bulwark against the tyranny of the great lords; and now, the great lords themselves, instead of looking upon it with jealousy, willingly upheld it, as they could trust to its being only wielded for their good. Called in as an umpire, the king was acknowledged as a judge and a law-giver; the monarchy imperceptibly became absolute.

Lewis, feared as well as loved at home, and on good terms with his neighbours, lived in peace from henceforth; employing himself in redressing grievances, in watching over

⁸ So angry were the inhabitants of the ceded districts, that they would not keep the festival of St. Lewis when he was canonized.

⁹ This award has been criticised by anti-monarchical writers, yet it was creditable to Lewis.

the interests of trade¹ and the safety of travellers, in improving the coinage², in reforming the administration of justice, and in amending the laws. We are told that, after hearing mass, he would sit under an oak in the wood of Vincennes, and listen to all the suitors who came to him; two first-rate jurists, *Peter de Fontaines* and *Geoffrey de Villettes*, being his assessors. Hardly had he returned from the East, than he put forth an ordinance in a parliament at Paris, Dec. 1254, to check the evil practices of the magistrates, which had been worse than ever while he was away: they were to swear before the clergy and people that they would freely do justice to all alike; and no man was to be arrested but for fiscal debts, or for a decided crime, nor were persons of a fair character to be tortured on the evidence of a single witness³. Four years afterwards, he would not let the provostship of Paris be sold to those who would screen their friends and kinsmen and take bribes: but he sought out for it the energetic *Stephen Boileau*; who speedily cleared the city of rogues and vagabonds. Throughout the royal domains, private

¹ Regulations were made for the trades of Paris by the provost Stephen Boileau. The commercial legislation of the age, however, did more harm than good; it favoured monopoly and prohibited the lending of money for interest.

² No less than eighty lords had still the right of coinage in France; and thus money was so debased, that the poor were heavy sufferers. Lewis began, in the year 1247, by forbidding the circulation of English money. He afterwards allowed none but royal money to be current in the districts which had no mints of their own; and by having his coinage of fine silver, and making it a legal tender even in the privileged places, he caused it to be the standard of value throughout France.

³ It was also ordered, less wisely, that the books of the Jews were to be burnt; that no profit was to be made on money lent; that harlots were to be stripped to their shifts, and driven from their haunts. All playing at dice, tables, and chess was forbidden; and none but travellers were to enter public-houses.

wars were forbidden, Jan. 1257⁴; as also were trials by battle, Feb. 1260: in which last ordinance there was an important clause, whereby an appeal to the king's court was substituted for the old right of challenging judges⁵. And the code of laws and customs which bears the name of the "Establishments of St. Lewis," was carefully compiled with the help of some of the magnates and of the most eminent of the lawyers⁶. A grand and useful undertaking, although it had many blemishes which were inherent in the feudal system and in the manners of the age; such as savage and bloody punishments,—the cutting off of hands or feet, the loss of eyes, death for light offences, and burnings alive,—and the original sin throughout, that there was one rule for the noble and another for the churl⁷. It was completed in the last year of his reign.

Even with regard to the Church and the clergy, Lewis was too single-minded to let himself be hoodwinked by

⁴ They had already been modified by the ordinance of Pontoise, Oct. 1245, which enjoined a truce of forty days (*la Quarantaine de Roi*) before reprisals could be made by the aggrieved party. And by a later enactment, one of the parties might cite the other before their mutual lord to swear to him "*asseurement*;" in which case the lord assessed the damages, and whosoever should break the peace was hanged. These laws were much evaded: for we find that John II. had to publish an ordinance against private wars, April 1353. It enforced the *Quarantaine*.

⁵ See vol. i. p. 209, note 3.—About three years before, when the king would have hanged *Enguerrand IV.* of *Coucy*, for having hanged some young Flemish gentlemen who had trespassed into his woods while chasing rabbits; the king of Navarre and Enguerrand's other powerful kinsmen supported the demand of a trial by battle. Enguerrand was then obliged to go to the Holy Land, and also to forfeit his rights of warren and of "*haute justice*."

⁶ When regulating the coinage, he had called in twelve deputies the chief cities—thus being the first king who recognised the rights of the *Tiers Etat*, or Third Estate.

⁷ Lawyers were obliged to let the nobles still have their own

his prejudices, when the path of duty was clear. For the sake of the true interest of religion, he tried hard to make the Pope modify the ecclesiastical immunities by which criminal priests were screened from justice ; the only fruits of his trouble were a few paltry concessions⁸. And when all the bishops of France wanted him to bid his officers seize the goods and chattels of every person who should have been excommunicated a year and a day, he demanded that cause should first be shown in each case : and on their refusing to yield this point⁹, he answered that "it would be against God and against reason, if he were to compel folks to get themselves absolved when it so happened that the clergy were wronging them." He also published, March 1269, that great charter of the liberties of the Gallican Church, the Pragmatic Sanction. It secured to prelates and patrons their rights, and to cathedrals and all other churches free elections ; and besides denouncing simony, and confirming former grants and privileges, it forbade the exactions of money by the court of Rome, unless with his express leave and that of the church of his kingdom¹.

By these reforms in legislation there was a remarkable change brought about, the full effect of which could not at

customs, such as primogeniture. But the inheritance of the Roturier was divided according to the Roman law ; and he was not of age until he was twenty-five.

⁸ These were granted in three several letters of Alexander IV., in the year 1260. The king's judges were not to be excommunicated for arresting homicide priests, if they sent them to be tried by the church courts ; priests who were married, or who were bigamists, were to be amenable to the civil tribunals, after degradation ; and traders who only had taken orders that they might have benefit of clergy, were to forfeit their privilege.

⁹ They said that they could not let their own causes go out of their own courts.

¹ This ordinance, which must be deemed genuine, was made when

the time have been foreseen. Forced at last to weigh evidence and to keep to fixed rules, the unlearned judges called in assessors to their aid; who instinctively did their utmost to hinder all trial by battle, and adopted tedious and complicated forms which wearied out, their perplexed masters. Thus, even in the parliament, the highest court of the realm², lawyers crept into the seats which the dignitaries had left empty; the whole of the judicial power passing into the hands of a body of men, whose interest it was to uphold the royal prerogative against the clergy and the feudal lords. It was already laid down by them in the "Establishments," on principles borrowed from the Pandects, that every man might appeal from his lord to the king's court.

Lewis was too unselfish to be tempted by the Pope's offer of the crown of Sicily for one of his sons: but his brother Charles eagerly undertook to root up the last remnants of the Swabian house, leading away with him, when he went forth, all the other restless spirits in France. The good king, who had most meekly borne a heavy loss in the death of his first-born, the amiable prince Lewis³, now married his eldest living son *Philip*, at Clermont, May 1262, to *Isabella*, the daughter of James of Arragon;

the papal see was vacant.—Its importance was greatly owing to the lawyers. On the strength of it, every interdict and excommunication of Rome, which interfered with the authority of the crown or the rights of the subject, was made out to be an infringement of the liberties of the Gallican church. Hence arose the "*appel comme d'abus*," which, like the writs of prohibition in England, was employed to check ecclesiastical encroachments.

² The parliament was fast developing its judicial powers. Its oldest register, the "*Olim*," begins at Candlemas, 1265.

³ Dec. 1259.—St. Lewis once told him to make himself loved by his people: for he would rather that even a Scotchman should come to France and rule well, than that one of his own children should reign wickedly.

which did not much please the Pope, as the eldest brother of the bride was about to become the husband of Constance of Sicily, the child of the hated Manfred⁴. Earnestly bent on making peace in Christendom, that its arms might only be turned against the enemies of the cross, he, in the year 1266, reconciled the kings of England and Navarre, who had quarrelled about the lordship of Bayonne; and somewhat later, though he could not settle the disputes between the Venetians and the Genoese, he healed the feud of the Navarrese king with *Theobald II.*, count of *Bar*, whose war with the count of Luxemburg he likewise ended by arbitration (A.D. 1268). About that time, in spite of the bad advice of his old friend Joinville and the rest of his council, he gave up the county of Dammartin to *Reginald of Trie*, although the seal happened to have been nearly all of it broken off from the letters in which the reversion had been promised to the heirs of Matilda of Boulogne⁵.

Unhappily for his kingdom, Lewis, even though his health was become so weak that he was unable to ride, and could hardly walk⁶, had made up his mind to undergo the perils of another holy war. The Pope tried for a while to dissuade him: but at length sanctioned the enterprise, bidding the unwilling French clergy contribute a tithe of their goods towards it, and sharply rebuking them for the selfishness of their loud outcries against such a burthen. In the great hall of the Louvre at Paris,

⁴ The marriage took place at Montpellier, July 1262.

⁵ The fief had been in abeyance since the death of Matilda of Boulogne, Jan. 1258. Reginald de Trie was the son of *John*, lord of *Trie*, and of *Alice of Dammartin* (either half-sister or aunt of Matilda).

⁶ Joinville, who would not be prevailed upon by Lewis to go on the crusade, tells us that he had to carry him through the streets in his arms, at the time that he took leave of him.

March 1267, the zealous king came forward with the hallowed crown of thorns in his hand, and called upon his assembled barons to avenge the wrongs of their Lord upon the Saracens; after which, when a sermon had been preached by the cardinal of *St. Cecilia*, the papal legate, he himself and three of his sons, Philip, John Tristan, and *Peter*, took the cross. The example thus set, was followed, sooner or later, by his brothers Alfonso and Charles, and by his nephew *Robert II.*, count of *Artois*; by the king of Navarre, the count of Flanders, *John*, earl of *Richmond*, heir of Britany, and *Hugh XII.*, count of *Marche* and *Angouleme*; by *Guy III.*, count of *St. Pol*, John, count of *Soissons*, *Burchard V.*, count of *Vendome*, *Matthew III.*, lord of *Montmorency*, and many others. The kings of Arragon and Castile were likewise induced to cross themselves: but the former could not⁷, and the latter would not fulfil his vow. In England, however, there was a gallant band of crusaders, headed by the crown-prince *Edward* and his cousin *Henry d'Almain*, the son of the king of the Romans.

A delay, caused by troubles in England and in the Two Sicilies, gave Lewis time to complete his code and to settle his affairs. In March 1269, besides promulgating the Pragmatic Sanction, he bestowed appanages upon his younger sons; assigning to John Tristan, already count of Nevers by marriage⁸, the county

⁷ James—though forbidden by the Pope, because he had not put away his mistress *Berengaria*—embarked at Barcelona, Sept. 1269; but being discouraged by the storms which drove him repeatedly into the French ports, he returned home. He sent on his third son *Ferdinand Sancho*; who, however, could do nothing in Palestine.

⁸ He had married *VIOLANTE* of *Burgundy*, the eldest of *Maud* of *Bourbon*'s daughters (see p. 225, note 4).—When he died, his widow married *ROBERT* of *Dampierre*, afterwards count of Flanders; so that the county of Nevers and the lordship of Donzy were united to

of Valois²; to Peter, the counties of Alençon and Perche¹; and to Robert, the youngest, lately affianced (although quite a boy) to Mary of Limoges³, the county of Clermont. Peter³ subsequently inherited Blois and Chartres in right of Jane of Châtillon, whom he had married after his father's death; and Robert, whose early engagement to the viscountess of Limoges was broken off, became, in the year 1272, the husband of Beatrice of Burgundy-Charolais, heiress of Bourbon⁴, a lordship of which

Flanders, and subsequently to Burgundy. On the death of Duke PHILIP II., April 1404, they became, with Réthel, the apanage of his third son, Count PHILIP II., who fell at Agincourt (Oct. 1415). Philip's sons were CHARLES I. and JOHN II.; the latter of whom inherited the county of Eu from his maternal uncle; and died, leaving no male heirs, Sept. 1491. From that count, the dukes of Nevers of the houses of Cleves and Mantua descended through females.

¹ The county of Valois had recently belonged to Queen Blanche, to whom it had been granted for life by St. Lewis.

² See p. 237, note 1.—He married Jane of Châtillon in the year 1272; and in June 1279, he inherited Blois and Chartres and her other fiefs (see p. 225, note 5). He died childless, April 1283.

³ MARY of Limoges, the heiress of a dynasty of viscounts which dates from the end of the ninth century, was afterwards married, in the year 1275, to ARTHUR, the eldest son of John II., duke of Brittany. See p. 210, note 5; and also the end of note 5, p. 204.

⁴ Clermont en Beauvaisis, of which the counts are first mentioned in the eleventh century, was inherited (A.D. 1191) by the daughter of the constable RODOLF, CATHERINE, countess of Blois; whose son THEOBALD VI. of Blois died childless, in the year 1218. It was then acquired by Philip Augustus, and given by him to his son PHILIP HUREPEL: but in the year 1230, on the death of that prince's daughter JANE, the widow of Walter of St. Pol, lord of Donzy (see p. 225, note 5), it had reverted to the crown.—It was by ROBERT's bailiff Beaumanoir, that the " Coutumes de Beauvaisis," a grand work on feudal customs, was compiled (A.D. 1283).

⁵ AYMAR, or ADEMAR, lord, in the beginning of the tenth century, of the important barony of Bourbon, was the ancestor of that

the name was borne by his descendants, the French kings of the last Capetian dynasty. *Blanche* and *Margaret*, two

AYMON II., *Vaire-Vache*, who was ousted from his usurped fief by Lewis the Fat, in the year 1115 (see p. 162). Aymon soon regained his lordship, owing to the decease of his nephew ARCHIBALD VI.: but his male line ended in his grandson ARCHIBALD VIII.; whose daughter, MAUD I., in the year 1200, succeeded to Bourbon with her husband GUY, the lord of Dampierre, though not without a lawsuit with *Margaret*, countess of *Forcalquier*, the child of her annulled marriage with *Walter of Vienné*, lord of *Salins*. The two elder sons of Maud and Guy were ARCHIBALD IX. and the William of Dampierre who married Margaret II. of Flanders; and Archibald IX. was the father of ARCHIBALD X., whose wife was Violante of Châtillon, daughter of the count of St. Pol and Agnes of Nevers (see p. 225, note 5). Archibald X. died at Cyprus, Jan. 1249, and was succeeded by his daughter, MAUD II.; who subsequently inherited Nevers, Auxerre, Tonnerre, and Donzy from her great-grandmother (A.D. 1250; see also p. 225, note 4). On the death of Maud, in the year 1262, her daughters by Eudes of *Burgundy* did not get Bourbon: it was taken possession of by her sister AENES, the wife of JOHN of *Burgundy*, count of *Charolais* (Eudes' younger brother). John dying, Jan. 1268, Agnes, after a widowhood of nine years, married Robert II., count of Artois, by whom she had no children; and when she deceased, in the year 1283, her daughter BEATRICE of Burgundy-Charolais and ROBERT of *France*, count of *Clermont*, inherited Bourbon.

When Beatrice died, Oct. 1310, Bourbon was inherited by her eldest son LEWIS I., *the Great and the Lame*: but Charolais was assigned to *John*, the younger brother; whose daughter and heiress *Beatrice*, in the year 1327, married John I., count of Armagnac. (Their grandson, John III. of Armagnac, sold Charolais to Philip of France, duke of Burgundy, May 1390.) Lewis I. also succeeded his father in Clermont (Feb. 1318); and though he afterwards exchanged that county for La Marche, Dec. 1327, it was granted back to him four years later. Not only were these two fiefs made peerages; but Bourbon itself was raised to the rank of a peerage-duchy (Dec. 1327), in favour of this valiant prince, who was moreover hereditary grand chamberlain of France. After his decease (Jan. 1341), Bourbon and the county of La Marche were shared between two of

of the French princesses, were likewise provided for.

his children ; which, as each of the main branches had an offshoot, gave rise to the subdivision of the family into BOURBON, BOURBON-MONTPENSIER, BOURBON-LA-MARCHE, and BOURBON-VEVDOME.

PETER I., the second duke of *Bourbon*, had married *Isabella*, the sister of Philip of Valois ; and two of his daughters, Jane and Blanche, became the wives of Charles the Wise and Peter the Cruel, the kings of France and of Castille. Killed at the battle of Poitiers, Sept. 1356, while under excommunication for not paying his debts, he was absolved when dead ; his son LEWIS II., *the Good*, having engaged to satisfy the creditors. Lewis II. afterwards acquired the county of Forez, Feb. 1382, in right of his wife *Anne* (the daughter of *Jane of Forez* and *Berald II.*, dauphin of Auvergne) ; the lordships of Beaujeu (the Beaujolais) and of Donabes, Aug. 1400, the reversion having been ceded to him by *Edward II.* of *Beaujeu* ; and other fiefs besides, which he purchased. After him, came his son JOHN I., Aug. 1410 ; who was kept out of the office of grand chamberlain by the duke of Burgundy ; and was taken at Agincourt, and thus died a prisoner in London, Jan. 1434, although he had thrice paid a ransom of 100,000 crowns. From *Mary of Berry*, of whom he was the third husband, this duke got the duchy of Auvergne (see pp. 263, 264, note 3) and the county of Montpensier : the latter of these fiefs became the apanage of a younger son, the founder of the first Bourbon house of that name. CHARLES I., the eldest son, recovered the office of Grand Chamberlain ; and also married *Anne of Burgundy*, the daughter of John the Fearless, and had a family of six sons and five daughters. Among these were JOHN II., *the Good*, who succeeded him, Dec. 1456, and, though thrice married, died without lawful heirs, April 1488 ; *Charles*, cardinal and archbishop of Lyons ; PETER II., who at first was lord of Beaujeu, the husband of the regent Anne of France, sister of Charles VIII. ; *Lewis*, bishop of Liege ; *Isabella*, second wife of Charles the Bold, and mother of Mary of Burgundy ; and *Margaret*, the first wife of *Philip II.*, count of *Savoy*. Peter II., before he was duke of Bourbon and Auvergne, had, in the year 1477, received a grant of the county of Marche and the lordship of Montaigu, confiscated from the duke of Nemours (see p. 206, note 6) : but on his death, Oct. 1503, there was no male heir to continue his line, and the succession of his small and deformed daughter SUSANNA was opposed by the princes of the house of Montpensier. The dispute

The former, at the close of the year, became the wife

was settled, May 1506, by her marriage to the rival claimant, CHARLES II., to whom she ceded her rights. She left him a widower, April 1521, her son *François* having preceded her to the grave.

The first Bourbon count of *Montpensier*, John I.'s son LEWIS I., *the Good*, became also dauphin of Auvergne (and for a short time count of Sancerre) by the will of his wife Jane, who had died childless, May 1436. (See p. 183, note 2, and p. 257, note 6.) He was succeeded, in the year 1486, by the child of a second wife, the count-dauphin GILBERT; who by *Clara* of *Gonzaga*, a Mantuan princess, was the father of LEWIS II., of CHARLES (afterwards duke of Bourbon by marriage), and of *François*, duke of *Châtelleraud*. Gilbert and his sons all died in Italy: he himself, at Puzzoli, Oct. 1496; Lewis, at Naples, Aug. 1501; Francis, on the field of Marignan; and the duke and constable Charles, as he was scaling the walls of Rome, May 1527.

The constable died an enemy to his country, having been driven to desperation by the spiteful *Louisa* of *Savoie*, the mother of Francis I.; who as the daughter of Margaret of Bourbon, had put a frivolous claim to the possessions of his dead wife Susanna, and had even managed to have them sequestered by the judges (Aug. 1522). At the treaty of Madrid, the restoration of his honours and estates was promised; yet these were confiscated by a decree of parliament which condemned him of felony after his death (July 1527). Restoration was again promised at the treaty of Cambray, in favour of his eldest sister LOUISA, of *La Roche-sur-Yon*, the wife of a cadet of the house of Bourbon-Vendôme: but though letters-patent were granted for that purpose, May 1530, they were shamefully cancelled, eight months afterwards. At length, in the year 1538, interest was made for Louisa with Francis I., by which she and her son LEWIS *the Good* recovered Montpensier and a few lordships besides; Montpensier being also created a peerage-duchy (Feb. 1539). Lewis, duke of Montpensier, was eventually fortunate enough to get from Francis II. a further grant of the county of Forez, the barony of Beaujeu, the dauphinate of Auvergne, and the lordship of Dombas (Nov. 1560); and when he died, Sept. 1582, he was succeeded by his son FRANCIS (Sept. 1582), and the latter by his son HENRY (June 1592). Henry, at his death, Feb. 1608, left only a daughter, named MARY; who died ten months after her marriage with Gaston, duke of Orleans, June 1627, and was the mother of the rich heiress

of *Ferdinand de la Cerda*, the Infant of Castille; the

LOUISA of *Orleans*, known as *Mademoiselle de Montpensier*, or *la Grande Demoiselle*.

The first Bourbon count of *Marche* and lord of *Montaigu* of the junior line of duke Lewis I., was JAMES I.; who, with his eldest son PETER, was mortally wounded in the fight with the Routiers, near Lyons, April 1361. His younger sons were JOHN, the next count of *Marche*, and James, by marriage lord of *Préaux* (whose male line ended in the first generation). John married *Catherine of Vendôme*, on the death of whose brother, in the year 1374, the county of *Vendôme* (originally an offshoot from *Anjou*), with *Castres* and other fiefs, came into the Bourbon family; and he was succeeded in *La Marche* by JAMES II., his firstborn, June 1393, *Vendôme* being reserved for the second son.—Besides these two, was John, lord of *Carency*, whose male line failed in the fourth generation.—James II., the husband of *Beatrice of Navarre* (daughter of Charles III.), and of Joanna II., queen of Naples, resigned his county, in the year 1435, to Bernard of Armagnac; who had married ELEANOR, the child of *Beatrice*. (See pp. 205, 206, note 6.) It was James who, for more than thirty years, shut up his sister Mary in a castle, for having eloped with the knight *John de Beyne*.

The rich inheritance of the house of *Vendôme*, when the countess Catherine died (April 1412), had fallen to the younger son LEWIS; whom the envious James of *Marche* forthwith seized, and kept in prison for eight months. Suddenly released, however, by his brother, Lewis had again the ill luck to be a captive: for he was taken at Agincourt, Oct. 1415, and was detained a long while in England by the difficulty of raising money for his ransom. He was succeeded, Dec. 1446, by his loyal and valiant son JOHN; who was cast in a lawsuit which he had with the Armagnac duke of Nemours for the county of *Marche*, Jan. 1466. By Isabel of *Beauveau*, heiress of *La Roche-sur-Yon*, John was the father of FRANCIS, his successor in the county of *Vendôme*, Jan. 1478, and of Lewis, lord of *La Roche-sur-Yon*; whose children were Lewis, duke of *Montpensier*, and Charles, duke of *Beaupréau* (a title extinct in another generation). Francis, count of *Vendôme*, who died in Italy (Oct. 1495), married Mary of *Luxembury*, countess of *St. Pol*,—she was the widow of James of *Savoy*, count of *Romont*, her own uncle,—in whose right he also acquired the counties of *Soissons* and *Marle*, with *Meaux*, *Condé*, *Enghien*, and other lordships. A younger son of his, also named Francis, whose male line ended

latter was married to *John I.*, duke of *Brabant*, Feb. 1270¹.

At length, in March 1270,—having first made his will, and named as regents of his kingdom *Matthew of Vendôme*, abbot of *St. Denys*, and *Simon of Clermont*, lord of *Nesle*²,—Lewis went to fetch the Oriflamme at *St. Denys*, where he also had his staff and wallet given him by the legate *Rodolf des Chevriers*, cardinal-bishop of *Albano*; and at Vincennes, he took leave of his wife and slowly began his journey southward. He was to have sailed from *Aigues-Mortes* early in May: but as the Genoese

in another *Francois* (Oct. 1557), had *St. Pol* for his apanage; but *CHARLES*, the eldest, whose county of *Vendôme* was erected into a peerage-duchy (Feb. 1515), inherited *Soissons* and most of his mother's lands. This gallant prince was allowed but a very small share of the fiefs of the last duke of *Alençon*, the brother of his wife *Frances*; nor were his just claims to the counties of *Clermont* and *Marche* attended to, when the constable of *Bourbon's* estates were sentenced to be forfeited. He died head of his family, March 1537. From his eldest son *ANTONY*, king of *Navarre* (in right of his wife *Jane d'Albret*) and father of *Henry IV.* of *France*, the royal houses of *Bourbon* and *Bourbon-Orleans* are descended, the former of which has also given kings to *Spain* and *Naples* and dukes to *Parma*; and from the youngest of his sons, *Lewis*, prince of *Condé*, came the princely house of *Condé*, with its offshoots the counts of *Soissons* and the princes of *Conty*.—To *LEWIS II.*, the Great *Condé* (whose mother was the heiress of the dukes of *Montmorency*), the duchy of *Bourbon* was granted by *Lewis XIV.*, Feb. 1651.

¹ That same month, *Lewis's* saintly sister *Elizabeth*, who had retired (but without taking the veil) to a nunnery which she had founded at *Longchamp*, died in her forty-sixth year. She had once refused the hand of the Emperor's son (afterwards *Conrad IV.*).

² If *Simon* died, his brother *John*, Count of *Ponthieu* (see p. 240, note 4) was to be regent. No power was entrusted to queen *Margaret*. That lady had once secretly made her son *Philip* swear to be under her guidance until he was thirty years old; and not to ally himself with his uncle *Charles* of *Anjou*. From this oath, *Philip* had been relieved by *Urban IV.* (A.D. 1263.)

ships were not yet ready, the crusaders had to wait in that unhealthy port until the 1st of July; so that when they got to sea, and were off Cagliari in Sardinia, many of them were dying, and had to be brought ashore. Resolving to invade Tunis, they then steered for the African coast, and landed, on the third day, near the ruins of Carthage. They at first encamped on the parched strand, and suffered dreadfully from heat and thirst; nor were they much better off when they had entrenched themselves at Carthage, of which they stormed the castle, most of them⁷ being ill sheltered from the burning sun, and from the scorching, stifling wind, and dust, and sand from the desert. Bad food, unwholesome water, and the stench of unburied bodies of men and horses, dead from disease or fallen in skirmishes, heightened their wretchedness; and yet, instead of moving at once from such a spot and laying siege to Tunis, they blindly chose to await the coming of Charles of Anjou and the fleet from Sicily. Thus a frightful pestilence broke out, which quickly struck down the counts of Vendôme and Marche, *Walter de Nemours*, the marshal of France, and the lord of Montmorency; who were followed by John Tristan, the king's son, and by the legate Rodolf, while the crown-prince lay dangerously ill of a quartan ague, and a worse fever, with flux, had seized upon the weak frame of the king himself. For full three weeks did Lewis calmly struggle with death, keeping his eyes fixed upon the cross, and praying with all his might to God and to the saints; nor did he forget to exhort his children⁸, or decline to receive, when nearly at

⁷ There were only houses for the people of rank.

⁸ Besides exhorting his daughter the queen of Navarre, he wrote or dictated his last instructions for Philip. In these, he bade him love justice, even against himself; uphold the poor; avoid war; help the Church; heal strifes and feuds; have good bailiffs and provosts; and be frugal and upright.

his last gasp, the ambassadors sent by Michael, the Eastern emperor, to complain of the ruthless ambition of his brother Charles. Almost with his dying breath, he promised to do all he could to preserve peace, which through life he had loved so well; and the next day, just as the Sicilian fleet was entering the harbour, he yielded up his soul in peace. Upon a lowly bed on the ground, which was strewn with ashes, and with his hands crossed upon his breast, he fell asleep, Aug. 25th, 1270, having lived fifty-five years "unspotted from the world".

- A.D. 1270. *Philip III., the Hardy.* Treaty with Tunis.
 1271. Return of Philip.—Thoulouse annexed.
 1272. The count of Foix chastised. Death of the duke of Burgundy.—Earliest letters of nobility.
 1273 (or 1274). Little War of Châlons.
 1274. The Comtat Venaissin ceded to the Pope.—Occupation of Navarre.
 1275. Ordinance on "Amortissements."
 1276. Death of the crown-prince Lewis.—Pampeluna sacked. Expedition of Sauveterre; truce with Castille.
 1278. La Brosse hanged.
 1279. Treaty of Amiens. Spanish negotiations.
 1281. League of Campilla.—The Meeting at Mâcon.
 1283. Death of Alençon. Charles of Anjou at Bordeaux. The Pope grants Arragon to Charles of France.
 1284. Philip the Fair marries Jane of Navarre.
 1285. Arragonese War. Sack of Elna; Battle of Ostalrich and Siege of Gerona. Death of Philip III.

PHILIP III., *the Hardy*, seems to have been brave and devout: but he was ignorant, weak-minded, and easily guided by low-born varlets¹, one of whom—*Peter de la Brosse*,

² In this reign, the king's chaplain *Robert de Sorbonne* founded, in the year 1250, for poor students in theology, the college of the Sorbonne, the most renowned in the university of Paris.

¹ The letters of nobility which Philip granted to his silversmith *Rodolf*, a native of Crespy, in the year 1272, became a precedent,

the barber-surgeon of St. Lewis—he raised to be grand chamberlain of France². Yet so much had the royal authority strengthened in the late reign, that such a rule met with hardly any opposition.

While St. Lewis lay dead, and Philip was almost without hope of recovery, Charles of Anjou hastened on shore to the aid of the Christian army, which was drooping fast and had much ado to beat off the Moors who kept harassing it. Suppressing all outward show of grief, lest his men should be disheartened and the foe encouraged, he went straight to his brother's tent; but when he was inside, out of the reach of prying eyes, he knelt down in prayer by the corpse, and wept bitterly³. Nor was it long before his military skill was displayed. A large body of the Moors was drawn into an ambuscade, and destroyed; and in another affair, he got between the infidels and their camp, while Philip, who had become well enough to head his French knights, pillaged the tents and set them on fire. Nevertheless, as the Crusaders were longing to leave Africa, the wily prince openly renewed his hitherto secret negotiations with the Tunisian king⁴; who, on his side, was eager to

The nobility of France had hitherto consisted of the crown vassals (among whom were the lords of Bourbon, Coucy, and Beaujeu, barons of France before the times of Hugh Capet) and the Vavassors or sub-feudatories. The Castellans (Châtelains), a very important class, having fortified houses, were Vavassors. It was only after the Ordinance of Blois, May 1579, that the possession of a fief ceased to confer nobility.

² As early as Oct. 1270, in the will in which he named the court of Alençon to be guardian of his children, he recommended Peter de la Brosse as a counsellor to his brother.

³ By his orders, the body was boiled in wine, water, and spices; so that the bones, which were to be buried at St. Denys, were separated from the flesh. The embalmed fragments of flesh were sent to the Abbey of Montreal, near Palermo, in Sicily.

⁴ He had therefore had his own reasons for advising St. Lewis to sit still and await his arrival.

get rid of the strangers before the approaching rains had allayed the dust, and heat, and stench which bred the deadly sickness which was thinning their ranks. To save his capital from a siege, and his kingdom from conquest, the alarmed Moslem yielded to every demand. At the end of October, a treaty was signed by which all Christian captives were to be set free, and full toleration granted, not only to the faith of the cross, but even to its missionaries; the port of Tunis was also to be opened to the traders of Christendom; and while the French were to be repaid the expenses of the war⁵, the king of Sicily was promised a yearly tribute of 20,000 golden doubloons. This peace was highly disapproved of by Edward of England and his warriors, who arrived before Tunis just as the Crusaders were preparing to embark.

It having been settled that Philip was to return to France, and that the rest of the host were either to follow his uncle Alfonso to the Holy Land, or else to go with Charles of Anjou and attack Constantinople; the whole of the fleet set sail, in the middle of November, for Trapani in Sicily. But when it was within sight of that port, and the two kings had already landed, a dreadful hurricane suddenly swept down upon the ships and sank many of them; all the treasure brought from Tunis being likewise swallowed up by the waves. This heavy loss was held to be a judgment from heaven on men who had yoked themselves with unbelievers in a godless peace; and indeed, as the English squadron happened to be unscathed, the French were so frightened at what had befallen them, that they thought it best to disband and not to fulfil their vows for three years⁶. As for Edward of England, he kept toge-

⁵ Estimated at 210,000 ounces of gold, half of which were paid down at once.

⁶ They were to meet again in Sicily, on St. Mary Magdalen's day, 1274.

ther his thirteen ships at Trapani until the spring, when he boldly set out with them for Palestine, April 1271.

When Philip was about to travel homewards by land, he was delayed a fortnight by the illness of the king of Navarre. Theobald II. died childless, Dec. 1270, his brother *Henry the Fat* succeeding him in Navarre and Champagne; and four months afterwards, his widow also ended her voyage and her life, at one of the isles of Hières off the French coast. Another heavy bereavement befell the sorrowing French king, besides the loss of father, brother, sister, and brother-in-law. On his reaching Cosenza in Calabria, Jan. 1271, his wife Isabella, who was six months gone with child and had been thrown from her horse while fording a river, gave birth to a boy who only lived a few hours; after which she lingered in dreadful suffering for some days, and then died. One more death, and that a bloody one, cast its gloom upon this dismal journey. Philip having gone, early in March, with the king of Sicily to Viterbo, where the cardinals had long been gathered together to elect a pope⁷; his cousin Henry d'Almain, who had accompanied him, was murdered in the church of St. Lawrence, one morning, at mass, by his outlawed kinsmen *Simon* and *Guy of Montfort*, the sons of the rebel earl of Leicester. They slew the unhappy prince on the very threshold of the altar; and as they were leaving the church, Guy of Montfort turned back, and dragged off the mangled body by the hair into the mud outside the doorway⁸.

⁷ After the death of Clement IV.; see vol. i., p. 367.

⁸ Guy had been reminded by one of his followers of the way in which his father's corpse had been dragged through the streets of Evesham. He now rode off with his brother to his Tuscan father-in-law, the count *Rosso Aldobrandini*; but was deprived by the king of Sicily of his command in Tuscany, and was also excommunicated. By submitting to a heavy penance and to a long imprisonment, he

On the twenty-first of May, the bereaved king entered Paris with the coffins of his wife and child, together with those of St. Lewis and of John Tristan. Dirges were sung throughout the night in the cathedral; and on the morrow, a mournful procession of prelates, lords, and citizens, headed by the various orders of monks and friars, wended its way on foot to St. Denys, Philip himself bearing his father's coffin on his shoulders. The monks of St. Denys came forth to meet it, about a thousand paces from the abbey, in silken copes and with tapers and chanting: but they kept their doors fast shut, and the whole train waiting without, until the archbishop of Sens and the bishop of Paris, whose jurisdiction they disclaimed, had agreed to lay aside their pontifical ornaments.

The last honours to the dead having been duly paid, Philip waited till August, and was then crowned at Rheims.

Besides the county of Valois, which had been the apanage of John Tristan, he had now the good fortune to inherit Poitiers and Thoulouse, the fiefs of his uncle Alfonso; who, as well as the countess Jane, Raymond's daughter, had died in Italy, Aug. 1271. The people of Thoulouse, though assured that the privileges of Languedoc were to be untouched, would fain have chosen the crown-prince of Arragon for their count: but they met with a refusal in that quarter, and thus a rich province, full of thriving towns, was without trouble annexed to the royal domain. There were indeed some districts claimed by the king of England and by the Holy See⁹, about which there

obtained absolution from Gregory X.; and after his release, at the
he returned to the service of the house of Anjou
in captivity, having been taken by Roger de
off Castellamare (June 1287).

Paris, p. 252, and that of Abbeville, p. 282.—
had been claimed by Charles of Sicily, to

were negotiations. In April 1274, the Comtat Venaissin was ceded to Pope Gregory X.

The aged Henry III. was not very well treated by his nephew. His rights of lordship over the viscounty of Limoges were disputed, and the officers of the French sovereign would encroach upon the feudal independence of Aquitaine. Another vassal, of less rank, *Roger-Bernard III.*, count of *Foix*, fared still worse. He had helped the husband of his wife's sister, *Gerald V.*, count of *Armagnac*¹,

whom the countess Jane had bequeathed it. In fact the Pope's title was defective, as the territory had been unconditionally restored to Raymond, in the year 1234; nor had the king of France any right to give away lands beyond the Rhone, which were within the borders of the Empire. Philip still kept one half of the city of Avignon; but his son eventually ceded it to Charles II. of Naples.

¹ BERNARD I., the *Squinter*, count of Armagnac in the year 960, was the second son of the first hereditary count of Fezenzac, *William-Garcia*, one of the younger children of *Garcia-Sancho*, duke of *Gascony*. His descendant GERALD III. became also count of Fezenzac, by inheritance, about the year 1140. Gerald's son, BERNARD IV., who died towards the end of the twelfth century, was the father of GERALD IV., ARNALD-BERNARD, and PETER-GERALD, and also of *Roger*, viscount of *Fézenzaguet*. After Peter-Gerald, came his eldest brother's child, BERNARD V.: who was succeeded, in the year 1245, by his sister MASCAROSA, viscountess of *Lomagne*; and the latter by her daughter MASCAROSA II., viscountess of *Bigorre*. On the death of Mascarosa II., in the year 1256, the next male heir, *Roger* of *Fézenzaguet*'s son GERALD V., peacefully inherited two counties for which he had long fought in vain: his wife, *Mathe* of *Béarn*, was one of the daughters of viscount *Gaston VII.*, and sister of the countess of *Foix*. *Gaston*, their second son, became viscount of *Fézenzaguet*; but BERNARD VI., the eldest, had Armagnac and Fezenzac, and, in the year 1290, also claimed Béarn. He had been forestalled by his uncle the count of *Foix* (see p. 226, note 6); and thus arose a long feud between the houses of *Foix* and *Armagnac*, which was only healed so late as April 1379. Bernard, however, got the county of *Rodes* in right of his wife *Cecilia*, to whom it had been bequeathed, though she was the youngest of all her father's daughters; and his son JOHN I. also acquired the viscounties of

then at feud with *Gerald*, lord of *Casaubon*, who had refused to do homage for the castle of *Sompuy* ; and the

Lomagne and *Auvillars*, by the will of his first wife *Regina* of *Gouth* (niece of Pope Clement V.), his second wife being *Beatrice*, countess of *Charolais*, the grand-daughter of Robert of *Clermont* (see p. 290, note 4). JOHN II., *le Bossu*, the child of *Beatrice*, had two sons : JOHN III., who sold *Charolais* to the duke of *Burgundy* (May 1390), and lost his life in *Lombardy*, July 1391, and BERNARD VII., constable of *France*, who was murdered in *Paris* by the *Burgundian* faction, June 1418. It had been arranged that the latter should succeed his brother, to the exclusion of his daughters ; he would have married his widow, *Margaret*, countess of *Comminges*, if he could have had a dispensation from the Papal court at *Avignon*. In the year 1403, he seized his kinsman *Gerald III.*, viscount of *Fézenzaguet*, and his two sons ; and when the father had died of hunger, and the children of ill-usage, took their lands and fiefs. The county of *Pardiac*, which the unhappy *Gerald* had gained by marriage, became the apanage of the Constable's younger son *Bernard*, afterwards count of *Marche* (see pp. 205, 206, note 6), the father of *James d'Armagnac*, duke of *Nemours*.

JOHN IV., the constable's eldest son, made himself master of part of *Comminges*, in the year 1443 ; but this was wrested from him, and he was taken prisoner by an army under the dauphin. When he recovered his freedom, he had to drop the style of "count by the grace of God," which his uncle, *John III.*, had assumed. He was succeeded, about the year 1450, by his eldest son JOHN V., a wretch who seduced his own fair sister *Isabella*, and even publicly married her by means of a forged dispensation. For this, he was at length driven out of his dominions and outlawed : but he was restored on the accession of *Lewis XI.*, to whom, however, he was repeatedly faithless, so as to be sentenced to forfeiture of life and goods by the Parliament of *Paris*, Sept. 1470. He was foully murdered, after he had capitulated at *Lectoure*, March 1473. CHARLES, his brother, lingered in the dungeons of the *Bastile* until the beginning of the next reign ; soon after which the "*domaine utile*" of *Armagnac*, *Fezenzac*, *Rodez*, and *Fézenzaguet* was granted him for life, April 1484. He died quite mad, in the year 1497. The grandson of his sister *Mary*, duke CHARLES of *Alençon*, claimed to be his heir by a will in favour of his father ; and eventually had the confiscated fiefs given him by his brother-in-law, *Francis I.*, in the year

castle had been sacked, its garrison slain, and the lands of its owner pillaged, although it had been put under the protection of *Beaumarchais*, the seneschal of Thoulouse, to which fief the lord of Casaubon had thought fit to own himself subject¹. Moreover—instead of submitting like Gerald of Armagnac, who was let off with a fine—the haughty count had not chosen to appear before the king's court, when summoned: he had even fallen suddenly upon Beaumarchais, while the latter was peaceably travelling in his neighbourhood, and had taken some of his men prisoners, and plundered his baggage. To avenge these insults, the Seneschal forthwith overran all the lower part of the county of Foix; nor did Philip fail to raise a large army of his vassals², and to march down with it into Languedoc. By the time that it had reached Pamiers, *Gaston VII.*, viscount of *Béarn*, the delinquent's father-in-law, and James, king of Arragon, hastened thither to do what they could as mediators; and when the castle of Foix itself was besieged, June 1272, Roger-Bernard came and surrendered to his sovereign, and was bound hand and foot, and shut up in a tower at Carcassonne. There he was kept for eighteen months; the pardon which he had hoped for having been withheld, as the fortresses in Upper Foix were not given up by the king of Arragon, to whom they had been entrusted on the strength of his doubtful

1515. They were retained by his widow MARGARET, and by her second husband HENRY d'Albrét, king of Navarre, grandson of Anne, the daughter of the Constable; so that on the accession of HENRY IV. to the throne of France, Aug. 1589, they were united to the domain.

¹ He especially dreaded the count of Foix, whose brother *Arnold-Bernard* had been slain in the beginning of the quarrel with the count of Armagnac.

² The number of men which each fief was to furnish, and the time of service, had now much dwindled; but many lords and knights joined this army of their own free will.

rights of lordship over that district. The Arragonese troops were at last withdrawn: so, after some further delay, Philip set his captive free, arming him a knight with his own hand, and restoring all his castles and jurisdictions.

At the close of the year 1272, the death of Hugh IV. of Burgundy seemed likely to be followed by the troubles of a disputed succession; his third son *Robert II.* being opposed by *Robert de Béthune*, of Flanders⁴, and Robert, count of Clermont, whose wives were the daughters and heiresses of the elder brothers. The king, however, was called upon to arbitrate; and in an assembly of the peers, Robert II. was declared to be the sole and only heir of his father's duchy⁵. It so happened that the new duke had lately been affianced to *Agnes*, the youngest daughter of St. Lewis; but the marriage did not take place until the year 1279.

Another great change was the decease of Henry III. of England, Nov. 1272, and the accession of the warlike Edward I. in his room. The next summer, that prince, whose return through Italy from the Holy Land was like a triumph, arrived at Paris, and duly did homage for his French fiefs to his cousin⁶, by whom he was very kindly welcomed. Thence he repaired to Guienne, which was still in an unsettled state, to secure the fealty of his

⁴ Afterwards Robert III., count of Flanders.—He had married John Tristan's widow, Violante, the daughter of *Eudes of Burgundy*, count of Nevers (see p. 225, note 4); and Robert of Clermont had married Beatrice, the daughter of *John of Burgundy*, count of Charolais (see p. 289, and p. 290, note 4).

⁵ Whether the judgment given was against the right of representation, or whether it only affirmed the preference of males to females, is not clear.

⁶ It is not necessary to care to say that he did homage for the fiefs which he held in France, thus hinting at Normandy.

vassals ; and while there, he concluded a treaty with the king of Navarre, Nov. 1273, the only daughter of whom was now contracted to his eldest son *Henry*. Nothing came of it. Even had the boy lived, a match which would have united Champagne and Navarre to Aquitaine and England could hardly fail to be hindered.

While Edward was staying in France, he went, in spite of the Pope's earnest remonstrances, to a tournament held by the count of *Challons*¹, May 1274. He entered the lists with a thousand men, and was unfairly met by twice as many: the sport was quickly changed into a fight, called the "Little War of Challons," in which the retainers on foot took part, and the English, whose stalwart yeomen always did good service, won the day². At Montreuil, June 1274, he had a conference with Guy, count of Flanders; who publicly apologized, in his mother's name, for the seizure of all the wool of English growth in the Flemish territories, because a yearly payment for military aid had been dropped. To retaliate for this, the exportation of wool from England had been forbidden; so that all the weavers in Flanders were out of work.

In August 1274, Philip consoled himself for his lost wife by marrying *Marg*, the daughter of *Henry III.*, duke of *Brabant*. He had lately resumed the cross, and the Pope had also given him the tithe which, by a decree of the council of Lyons, was to be levied from the French clergy for six years: but though he let himself be kept from attacking Rodolf of Habsburg, the newly-chosen emperor, not all the zeal of Gregory X. could stir him up

¹ Châlons-sur-Saône.—This tournament may have been in May 1273, before Edward went to Paris.

² The strong count threw his arms round Edward to drag him down; but was himself unhorsed, and so bruised that, when remounted, he cried for mercy. The angry king drubbed him soundly, and would only let him yield his sword to a footman.

to go on with the war which he had pledged himself to wage. His thoughts had been turned aside to things which were nearer home. For Henry II., king of Navarre, had died of fat, July 1274, his daughter *Jane* being not yet three years old; and while Alfonso of Castille put forth claims to Navarre², *Peter Sancho de Montaignu*, whom the nobles had elected guardian of that kingdom, wanted to marry the infant heiress to James of Arragon's eldest grandson. The queen dowager, *Blanche of Artois*, a Frenchwoman and the niece of St. Lewis, stole away with her child, and fled to the court of Philip; who was right glad to get the heiress for one of his own sons¹, and forthwith sent the seneschal *Eustace de Beaumarchais* with a body of troops into Navarre. There the French were well received; but they were so encroaching and overbearing that the people at length rose against them, and the seneschal had to betake himself to the castle of *Pampeluna*, where he held out until succours could reach him.

Nor were the other Christian kingdoms of Spain less troubled. A host of Moors had crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, May 1275, and Castille and afterwards Arragon were brought to the brink of ruin. Broken down by sickness and sorrow, James the Conqueror breathed his last at Valencia, in the habit of a Cistercian monk, July 1276; and was succeeded in Arragon, Valencia, and Cata-

² When Alfonso was with the Pope at Beaucaire, in the following spring, he gave up these claims as well as his pretensions to the Empire; the Pope promising to intercede for his captive brother Henry with Charles of Anjou, and to grant for the Moorish war the tithe to be levied from the Spanish clergy.

¹ He would have affianced her to his son Lewis: but Gregory X. would only give a dispensation for Philip, the younger brother, owing that the independence of Spain might thus be less endangered. The death of Lewis baffled the Pope's policy.

lonia by his son Peter III., whose younger brother *James* had also for his share the kingdom of Majorca, the county of Roussillon, and the lordship of Montpellier. And while by this division the house of Arragon was weakened, the death of the infant Ferdinand de la Cerda, Aug. 1275, had stirred up a bitter family feud in Castille; his children *Alfonso* and *Ferdinand*, the infants of La Cerda,—the nephews moreover of the French king,—being set aside at the Cortes of Segovia, and his valiant brother Don *Sancho* declared to be the rightful heir to the crown. This was quite against the wish of Alfonso the Wise, their grandfather, and the indignation of Philip was deeply roused.

To uphold Beaumarchais in Navarre, and the cause of the infants of La Cerda in Castille, Philip raised two armies, one in Languedoc, the other in Northern France. The former of these, under Robert II. of Artois, Blanche's brother, made its way through the defiles of the Pyrenees, and besieging Pampeluna, sacked the town and relieved the castle²; with the latter, he himself marched down into Béarn, thinking to pass over into Spain, and was stopped short at Sauveterre for want of food and supplies. While he was in this plight, a letter from John XXI., a pope of Spanish birth, warned him not to wage war against the Christians in Castille; his cousin Edward of England wrote to offer his mediation³; and Robert of Artois came and joined him, bringing word that Alfonso had agreed to

² During the noise and revelry of a grand ball, the chief men of the Castillian party had escaped in the night to the camp of Alfonso the Wise, who had come within seven leagues of the place; and the soldiers had got in while the forsaken citizens were trying to arrange a capitulation. It was with much trouble that Robert of Artois put an end to the robbery, rape, sacrilege, and indiscriminate bloodshed which followed.

³ Edward's queen was the half-sister of Alfonso of Castille.

a truce. So he ingloriously turned back, though he had solemnly fetched the Oriflamme from St. Denys, and besides the duke of Burgundy and the barons of France, his father-in-law and other vassals of the Empire had followed him to the field⁴. In the winter, Jan. 1277, a slight ray of hope gleamed forth. *Violante of Arragon*, Alfonso's queen, suddenly fled with the infants, her grandchildren, to the court of her brother, Peter III., at Huerta; a thing which highly irritated Don Sancho, but had not the effect which the flight of Blanche of Artois had wrought in Navarre. Philip indeed shamelessly robbed the bankers and Italian traders in France, that he might have money to renew the struggle⁵; yet the influence of Rome, even after the death of John XXI., still kept him from attacking a country which was fighting for the faith against the Moors.

The pride and the power of Peter de la Brosse, the chamberlain, had by this time drawn upon him the hatred not only of the nobles, but also of Mary of Brabant. He looked upon the new queen with the jealousy of an old servant whose master has chosen to marry; and thus in the year 1276, when the king's eldest son Lewis died, he lent his countenance to those who awakened dark suspicions that the prince had been poisoned by his stepmother, even suborning, it would seem, some pretended prophets to strengthen this belief⁶. Strange to say, nothing came of

⁴ At this time, the count of Artois threw out hints that the king's counsels were betrayed to the enemy—thus covertly aiming at Peter de la Brosse, the favourite minister.

⁵ He had them all arrested throughout his kingdom, in one day, having been guilty of usury, and thus frightened them 120,000 golden florins (about 60,000*l.*).

the Vidame of the Church of Laon, and a Sarabaitte belonged to no rule), and a Béguine. The Béguine, questioned, got frightened, and affirmed the queen to

this : neither was the chamberlain disgraced, nor did the queen lose her husband's love. But after a while, some letters which had the seal of the obnoxious minister were brought to the king by a monk in whose convent they had been left on the death of the bearer ; and then was La Brosse thrown into a dungeon, and ordered to be tried by the dukes of Burgundy and Brabant, and the count of Artois, all of whom were his bitter foes. Doomed by them to death, he was hanged on the gallows of Montfaucon, June 1278.—Yet what was written in the letters was never told ; nor were the people, and perhaps the Pope himself⁷, without strong suspicions that there had been foul play, and that Philip had been intimidated by his lords.

In the spring of the next year, Charles the Lame, prince of Salerno and heir apparent to the crown of Sicily, who had been sent by his father into Provence⁸, was splendidly entertained at Paris. As the laws against tournaments had lately been set aside⁹, a very grand one indeed was held, in which arms and horses were supplied to all who chose to enter the lists ; and in this rough game, the handsome Robert of Clermont had such hard blows dealt him upon his head, that the shock weakened his brain for the rest of his life. He had only recently been knighted. In the

⁷ Nicholas III. gave shelter in his court to La Brosse's brother-in-law *Peter de Bénais*, who had been a chief agent in bringing the charge against the queen, alleging that his guilt had not been proved. The outlawed prelate was even allowed to return to his see, when Philip the Fair had succeeded his father !

⁸ Charles of Anjou had become alarmed at the demand of Margaret, the queen-dowager, for the partition of Provence. For she had lately applied to her sister's son, Edward of England, and to the Emperor Rodolf, from the latter of whom she actually got investiture for her share of Provence and Forcalquier.

⁹ At the request of the nobles.—Pope Nicholas wrote a very angry letter to the king, and imposed a penance upon those who had been present at such contests.

month of May, Philip went to Amiens and concluded a treaty with Edward of England; who, in right of his wife, had now inherited the counties of Pontlieu and Montreuil¹. It was agreed that the Agénaïs should be given up by France: but the dispute about the Quercy was left unsettled until the year 1286, when Edward sold his claim to it for a small sum.

The negotiations with the Spanish kings were far less satisfactory. Peter of Arragon would not yield up the Infants of La Cerda, either to the French or to the Castilians, though he sent back his sister Violante to her husband: he chose rather to have a hold on both parties, seeking withal to amuse Philip, lest he should help the king of Majorca, with whom he was at feud. The Castilians made a show of treating with France, and sent envoys to a congress at Bordeaux² which the Pope had proposed: but this was only to gain time; for not even the terms of a truce could be agreed upon. Moreover, there was an interview between Peter of Arragon and Don Sancho, Sept. 1279, in which they came to an understanding, and pledged themselves to help each other, if either of their respective countries should be attacked by the French king; who, in the meanwhile, became more moderate, and only asked that the Infants of La Cerda should be set free, and that at least an apanage should be given them. He also wished Peter and Alfonso to meet him in Gascony; and by the mediation of Edward, his cousin, a truce for a twelvemonth with Castille was brought about, June 1280; after which it was settled that

¹ See pp. 240—242, notes 4 and 5.—His claim to Aumale was set aside by the French parliament, at Whitsuntide 1281.

² In the year 1279.—They were to have met, the year before, at Thoulouse: but the Castilians would not come into a city which immediately belonged to the French king.

at Michaelmas he himself was to be at Mont de Marsan, and Alfonso X. at Bayonne. But Don Sancho, who dreaded lest his own interests should suffer, threw every obstacle in the way of a reconciliation³: his father and Philip never met; and though the latter had a conference at Thoulouse with the kings of Arragon and Majorca, it was altogether fruitless.

While Philip was at Thoulouse, he confirmed the parliament there, which he had already begun to organize, the preceding January, for the six districts (*sénéchaussées*) of Languedoc; the people of that distant province having complained to him of the hardship of being made to plead their causes at Paris. And his visit to Gascony strengthened the influence of the crown in a duchy where it was often wanted as a check upon the misrule of the English⁴.

The next year, the feud between the queen-dowager and Charles of Anjou threatened to end in open war. At a gathering of Margaret's friends, at Mâcon, Oct. 1281, the archbishop of *Lyons* and *Philip I.*, count of *Savoy*⁵, with *Edmund*⁶, earl of *Lancaster*, the count of Alençon, the duke of Burgundy, *Otho IV.*, count of *Burgundy*, and others of less mark, undertook to uphold her claims, and to hinder the re-establishment of the kingdom of Arles by the

³ Edward I. was disgusted, and his mediation got rid of, by calling in the prince of Salerno as an umpire.

⁴ An ordinance which he had promulgated in July, in the parliament of Paris, abolishing the custom of Gascony by which murderers might clear themselves on oath, was at once received.

⁵ Count Philip of Savoy, also titular count of Burgundy in right of his late wife Alice (see p. 48, note 2), was Margaret's uncle; and the count of Burgundy, whom she styled her nephew, was his stepson.—Sismondi has strangely mis-stated these points.

⁶ Edmund was also titular count of Champagne, being now the husband of the widowed Blanche of Artois, dowager-queen of

Emperor in favour of the prince of Salerno⁷: it was moreover her intention to call them to arms at Lyons, in the first week of May; and Edward of England, her nephew, whose mother's rights in Provence were also at stake, had pledged himself to give aid. Her eldest son, the French king, hung back. He was not sorry to see the storm which he dreaded turned aside by the wisdom and firmness of Edward: who wrote to Charles and to his son, and got the Pope to interpose his mediation. After much delay, an award was pronounced, in the summer of the year 1284, by which it would seem that the portions so long withheld from the dowager queens of France and England were now paid them.

On the side of Spain, the horizon was darkening. Peter of Arragon having imprisoned the count of Foix for plotting against him, July 1280, Philip had made a treaty with the countess, in which, in his turn, he undertook the care of her husband's castles; the garrisons in Navarre were troublesome to the Arragonese; and money from France was sent yearly to the Castillian lords who had drawn the sword in behalf of the Infants of La Cerda. At a meeting therefore in the castle of Campilla, near Agreda, March 1281, it was secretly agreed between Peter and Don Sancho, that after Christmas, when the truce was ended, they should join in driving out the French from Navarre¹. This plan came to nothing, Don Sancho being soon involved in open war with his father, king Alfonso: so

Navarre and dowager-countess of Champagne. He was Margaret's nephew, being the younger son of Henry III. and her sister Eleanor.

⁷ This was a project of Charles of Anjou; whose fealty for Provence had also been received by the Emperor, March 1280.

⁸ Peter of Arragon was to have all the conquests, in return for which he was to keep the infants shut up in the stronghold of Xativa.

Peter of Arragon, who had an eye upon Sicily, gathered together a large fleet with which he sailed to Africa⁹, June 1282; and was thus ready to receive the crown which was offered him by the insurgents who had shaken off the yoke of Charles of Anjou at the Sicilian Vespers.

The tidings of this sudden revolution woke up the rage of Martin IV., a pope so French in feeling that he had granted indulgences to all who at any time said a prayer for Philip. He fulminated a bull, Jan. 1283, in which he freely bestowed the privileges of crusaders upon those who should fight for the Church and for Charles of Sicily against the rebels; and in another one, issued in March, he doomed Peter of Arragon to be deprived even of his hereditary kingdom.

The prince of Salerno, and after him the count of Alençon, had already hastened down into Italy with large bodies of knights, the immediate vassals of Provence or of the crown: these were now followed by the counts of Artois, Burgundy, and Dammartin, by *Robert V.*, count of *Auvergne* and *Boulogne*, by *Matthew IV.*, lord of *Montmorency*, and a host of crusaders. In this expedition the count of Alençon lost his life, April 1283¹; and thus, as his children were dead, another apanage reverted to the king.

In the meanwhile, Peter of Arragon had sent a challenge to Charles of Anjou; and a treaty had even been signed in which the two champions had solemnly pledged themselves to fight one another, in June, at Bordeaux, in a closed field which their common kinsman Edward of England was to

⁹ Philip, suspecting his design, said that he would give him troops, if he were going to attack infidels. Peter declined the offer, but got a loan of 40,000 livres!

¹ While he was encamped on the furthest point of Calabria, where several towns had revolted, some of the Spanish soldiers in Messina crossed the straits in the night, and slew him in his tent.

keep. Each of them was to be attended by a hundred knights, and Sicily was to be the prize of the conqueror. But Edward refused to be present; the Pope loudly denounced the whole scheme, threatening the combatants with excommunication, and releasing his French friends from their oaths; and when Charles of Anjou came to Bordeaux, Philip was also there, with three thousand men-at-arms from Languedoc outside the gates. Peter had still the boldness to enter the town on the appointed day: but he was alone and in disguise; and after protesting before the seneschal of Aquitaine, that he was come and had found no security for fair play, he rode away as fast as his steed could carry him. His foes waited yet a few days, and then withdrew in triumph.

The Arragonese border was now ravaged by Beaumarchais; who sallied forth from Navarre, and took Lerda, Ul, and Fillera. James, king of Majorca, moreover, became the ally of France, and did homage at Palairac for the lordship of Montpellier, Aug. 1283. Yet the people, and even the clergy of Arragon stood firm by Peter: the Papal interdict was a dead letter when wielded against an able prince, who had the good sense to ratify the liberties of his subjects². In proud mockery of his being forbidden to bear the title of king, he styled himself "an Arragonese knight, the father of two kings³, and the Master of the Sea!"

The enraged pope having offered Philip the crown of Arragon for one of his children, to be held as a fief of the Roman Church, and never to be annexed to France or any other kingdom; there was a great council of the prelates

² Philip, with equal wisdom, now thought fit to strengthen the attachment of Languedoc by confirming the charters and privileges of the chief towns.

³ Sicily was to be the kingdom of his younger son.

and barons called together at Paris, and prince *Charles*, the second son then living, was, with their consent, declared king of Arragon and Valentia, and count of Barcelona, Feb. 1284⁴. The elder brother, Philip the Fair, also took the title of king of Navarre, the following August: for after being knighted, he had married his betrothed bride, queen Jane, the rich heiress of the house of Champagne. An apanage in France was afterwards given to Charles: who was created count of Valois by his father, Feb. 1285, but with a limitation to his heirs male; and in the next reign, was likewise invested with the counties of Alençon and Perche⁵. From him sprang the French kings of the line of Valois, and the dukes of Alençon.

Before the French were ready to invade Arragon, Alfonso the Wise died at Seville, April 1284, and Charles of Anjou in Italy, Jan. 1285. As Alfonso had forgiven his son in his last illness, and had cancelled a will in which he had bequeathed the crown to the Infants of La Cerda, with remainder to the king of France; the strife in Castille calmed down, and it was to be feared that Sancho IV. would be able to help his ally. Robert of Artois was therefore sent to the court of Castille on a mission of conciliation: he was only to ask for an apanage for the Infants. In the meanwhile, Peter of Arragon, in spite of the troubles which beset him at home⁶, had been gaining great successes in the Sicilian war. Ere the grave had closed upon Charles of Anjou, the victories of the great admiral *Roger de Loria* had shattered his strength, and

⁴ The tithe of the goods of the French clergy was granted by the Pope, to uphold his pretensions.

⁵ In the year 1293.—See p. 237, note 6.

⁶ He had been compelled by an armed union of his subjects, in the year 1283, to grant the "General Privilege," which ratified their liberties.

the prince of Salerno—the heir of what was left of his kingdom—was a captive!

In the spring of the year 1285, Philip, with the *Ori-flamme* and his two sons, the titular kings of Navarre and Arragon, joined the large army of soldiers and crusaders which had gathered together at Thoulouse⁷. Peter saw with dismay that the Catalans hung back when they were called to the defence of their border; that the king of Castille and his fine promises were not to be relied on: and when he bled to Perpignan, hoping to win over his brother James, and thus shut up the passes of Rousillon against the French, his brother forsook home, wife, and children, and fled away to the enemy⁸. The baffled sovereign then withdrew, after releasing the men of Perpignan from their oaths of fealty; and early in May, the traitor king of Majorca returned with Philip, and yielded up to him all the strongholds of Rousillon. Elna—the key of Catalonia, and therefore called *Janua*, or the Gate—was stormed by the confederates, and all its inhabitants put to the edge of the sword⁹: but Peter, who had posted himself on the ridge of Panissars with a body of rough, half-clad, but bold and nimble mountaineers¹, kept harassing his foes; who durst not go further, until, towards the end of June, they were guided round, through another defile, into the plain below, where they could have support from their fleet, which had already taken the port of Rosas. They forthwith reduced Peralada and Figuieras, and laid siege to Gerona.

⁷ Said to be 100,000 men, one-fifth of whom were horsemen.

⁸ The kingdom of Valencia had been promised him by Philip.

⁹ This butchery was sanctioned by *John Collet*, cardinal of *St. Cecilia*, the papal legate. Even in the great church, the people were massacred.

¹ These guerillas, according as they fought on foot or on horseback, were called *Almogavars* and *Adalides*.

By this time, the spirit of the Arragonese had been fairly roused. The Union at Saragossa, no longer mistrusting the king, called upon the whole nation to rise in arms; and at sea, the Catalan galleys captured twenty-five of the French ships, and Roger de Loria overcame the admiral *William de Lodève* and took him prisoner². Gerona itself was nobly defended by *Raymond Folch*, viscount of *Cardonna*; Peter, and also his son *Alfonso*, assailing the besiegers from the neighbouring mountains. A drawn battle was fought at Ostalrich in August, when Peter fell upon a detachment under *Rodolf de Nesle*, the constable, and *John de Harcourt*, the marshal, which was covering a convoy from Rosas³; and early in September, Gerona capitulated, and Eustace de Beaumarchais and a strong garrison were put into it. Philip had vowed to reduce the place, although, as the heat of the plains was dreadful and supplies could no longer be brought by sea, his soldiers were either dying of fever or starving; he was therefore so weakened, that the only thing to be done was to retreat.

When the fleet was ordered home, ere half of it had left the port of Rosas, the Spaniards rose upon the men who were embarking, pillaged the storehouses, and set fire to the ships in the harbour⁴; and the division which had got out to sea was attacked and routed by the indefatigable Roger de Loria, and *Enguerrand de Bailleul*, its admiral, taken prisoner. Nor was the dwindled land army in less danger. The passes of the Pyrenees had been beset; so that *Aymery IV.*, viscount of *Narbonne*, had to bring up

² Aug. 1285.—Two hundred and sixty captives were sent back to the French king with their eyes put out!

³ The French story that Peter was mortally wounded in this battle, is untrue; neither was Robert de Béthune slain, as the Spaniards asserted.

⁴ In revenge for this, Rosas was burnt by John de Harcourt, who came too late to prevent the mischief.

troops from Languedoc, to dislodge the Arragonese and to keep the road open, or every Frenchman would have been cut off.

Philip had been struck down by the sickness which had been so deadly to his soldiers. Borne on a litter through the drenching rain, he crossed the border with James of Arragon, and reached Perpignan: but there he stopped, unable to go any further. In a few days, he breathed his last, aged not more than forty years, Oct. 1285; and hardly was he dead, than Gerona was given up, and all his conquests were lost. A month afterwards, Peter of Arragon, his triumphant foe, caught cold and died.

In this reign, the fees of advocates were fixed, Oct. 1274, and the oath was exacted not to defend a cause when it was believed to be unjust. By another ordinance, Nov. 1275, a fief sold to a roturier was not to be seized, either by a superior lord or by the king himself, because the new owner could not perform military service⁵; provided always that the buyer satisfied the three lords immediately above the seller.

A. D. 1285. *Philip IV., the Fair* (le Bel).

1286. Treaty with Edward I. of England.

1287. Conference of Oleron. The clergy excluded from civil courts.

1288. Treaty with Castille. Conference of Campo Franco.

1290. The Jews persecuted. Conference of Bayonne.

1291. Treaty of Tarascon. The Italians seized.

1294. Aquitaine confiscated. War with England.

1295. The English enter Bayonne.—Treaty of Vincennes.

Congress of Anagnia. The count of Flanders arrested.

1296. Exactions of Philip. Bull "Clericis Laicos."

⁵ As such fiefs were said to be "*amortis*," or held in mortmain, this was called the "Ordinance on amortissements." By another edict, at Christmastide, the king's officers were also forbidden to trouble the Church about lands in mortmain, which had been granted to it by feudal lords without asking leave of the crown.

- A.D. 1297. The count of Bar invades Champagne.—War with Flanders; Battle of Furnes.
1298. The Pope arbitrates between France and England.
1299. Treaty of Montreuil. Conference of Vaucouleurs.
1300. The count of Flanders imprisoned; the Flemings subdued.
1301. The bishop of Pamiers arrested; Bull "Ausculta Fili."
1302. The Pope's bull burnt; the States General.—The Flemings revolt; Battle of Courtray.—Bull "Unam Sanctam." Revolt at Bordeaux.
1303. Aquitaine restored.—Council of Paris. The Pope seized at Anagnia.—Angoulême acquired.
1304. Battles of Ziriksee and Mons en puelle. Peace with Flanders.
1305. Queen Jane dies; Lewis the Hutin inherits Navarre.
1306. The Jews banished. Outbreak at Paris.
1307. The right of coinage suspended. The Templars arrested.
1308. The States General assembled at Tours.
1310. The city of Lyons seized.
1311. The Jews and Italians banished.
1312. The Temple order abolished at the council of Vienne.
1313. Philip invades Flanders.
1314. Misconduct of the princesses.—Execution of the Grand Master. Death of Philip.

PHILIP IV., *the Fair* (le Bel), had already, by his marriage, virtually annexed the great fief of Champagne to the crown. And notwithstanding his youth,—he was not more than seventeen⁶,—he had nothing to fear from his chief vassals, the rulers of Guienne, Flanders, Burgundy, and Britany; or from his nobles, who had now lost much of their old importance⁷; or from the people, whose strength was yet undeveloped⁸. Ambitious, and yet un-

⁶ The kings of France were held to be of age at fourteen.

⁷ The nobles were overruled by the Royal Courts; and as (owing to the increase of luxury) they wanted money more than men, they would rack their tenants, and thus lost their attachment.

⁸ The commons were chiefly mechanics and tradesmen (the wealthiest of whom were the butchers): for in an age when every burgher was

warlike; overbearing, unprincipled, and caring only to have his will; he would compass his ends by craft, grasping at more than he was always able to keep. To such a prince, the lawyers were most useful tools, ready at all times to do his work: for they were glad to exalt the crown above the barons, whom they hated as oppressors, and the clergy, of whom they were jealous as rivals. These last, by a royal ordinance, Nov. 1287, were forbidden to sit as judges, or to practise as pleaders and attorneys, in any temporal court, even when the jurisdiction belonged to a spiritual lord⁹.

Leaving James of Majorca to carry on the war with Arragon, Philip had returned home after his father's death. He was crowned at Rheims, Jan. 1286; and the following Whitsuntide, his kinsman Edward of England came up to Paris from Guienne¹, and did homage. A treaty which settled some points of dispute between the two kings, was signed in the month of August²; after which Edward went

obliged to live half the year within the walls of his town, only Jews and Italians could freely traffic. By an ordinance at Whitsuntide 1287, any one who came to dwell in a town, and bought a house worth sixty Paris sols, might call upon the provost to grant him letters of denizenship. Notice was to be given to his former lord, who might prosecute him in the borough courts for recent offences, and reclaim him if he were a serf.

⁹ Another ordinance, at Whitsuntide 1288, forbade the arresting of Jews by the friars without the concurrence of the royal bailiff or seneschal.

¹ He had gone thither to watch the large army which the late king had drawn together, when about to invade Catalonia; and he had hanged several Gascon lords before their castle gates for paying court to the French.

² Edward was not to incur forfeiture or penalty, when his vassals appealed to the Parliament of Paris. The yearly payment of 10,000 pounds, on account of Normandy, was to be continued; and a sum of money was to be also given as a compensation for the Query.

back to Guienne, to mediate between the French and Arragonese princes.

Peter III. had been succeeded in Arragon by his eldest son *Alfonso III.*, who had just conquered Majorca and Iviça³; and in Sicily, by *James*, the second of his sons. The two brothers stood by each other. A Catalan and Sicilian fleet, under Roger de Loria, ravaged the coast of Languedoc; and the inroads, that summer, of James of Majorca into Catalonia, and of the Navarrese into Arragon, were quickly repelled. Yet it was felt that the fortune of the war was likely to change; the might of France and the ban of the Church were sources of constant dread; the people of Arragon were turbulent, and the friendship of the king of Castille was not to be relied upon. Envoys were therefore readily sent from Arragon and Sicily, to meet the ambassadors of France, Naples, and Castille, in a conference which was held at Christmastide, in Bordeaux, by Edward: who proposed that Charles the lame should acquiesce in the loss of Sicily and of part of Calabria; and that Charles of Valois should give up his bootless claim to the throne of Arragon. But when the Pope heard of it, he wrote to Charles the lame, annulling all that had been done; and so the war broke out again.

The death of Honorius IV., and the tidings of a reverse which had befallen the French in Italy⁴, encouraged Edward to go on with the treaty. At a conference, at Oleron in Béarn, with Alfonso and with the commissioners of Charles the lame and of the College of Cardinals, July 1287, it was settled that Charles should be released from captivity, that he might negotiate as a king actually reign-

³ A twelvemonth afterwards, Nov. 1286, Alfonso took Minorca from the Moslems.

⁴ The sea-fight off Castellamare, won by Roger de Loria, June 1287.

ing; and that he should pledge and bind himself⁵ to bring about, within three years, a honourable peace between all parties, the count of Valois and the Holy See included. Until then, there was to be a truce; and should he fail at last to satisfy king Alfonso or his heirs, he was either to give up Provence, or else to return to his former prison.

But the Roman cardinals had little wish for peace; and still less had Philip. In May 1288, his ally, the king of Majorca, burst again into Catalonia⁶; and two months afterwards, a treaty was concluded, at Lyons, with Castille, in which the claims of the Infants of la Cerda were renounced⁷, and Sancho IV. undertook to invade Arragon. When this came to the knowledge of Alfonso, he at once set the infants free, and even made a league with them, proclaiming the elder of them, *Alfonso de la Cerda*, king of Castille and Leon, Sept. 1288; which was the signal for a fresh rising of malcontent lords against Sancho.

When Charles of Salerno—so he continued to be styled while yet uncrowned—had ratified the treaty of Oleron, in a conference with the kings of England and Arragon at Campo Franco, Oct. 1288, and had recovered his freedom; he visited the courts of Philip and of Pope Nicholas IV. on his way home. Philip told him that he would have nothing to do with the treaty⁸; the Pope absolved him from his oaths. Notwithstanding which, after a gleam of

⁵ He was to give his three eldest sons, and sixty gentlemen of Provence as hostages, and to pay 50,000 marks as a pledge. Edward helped him to fulfil these conditions.

⁶ He was well-nigh overpowered, that time. The grant of the Privilege of Union, the year before, had rekindled the loyalty of the Arragonese.

⁷ Should they recover their freedom, the eldest was to have Murcia as a vassal kingdom.

⁸ He even caused the viscount of Narbonne to seize the ambassadors whom Edward and Alfonso were sending to the Pope.

success in the renewed war, he thought fit to make a truce for two years with Sicily, Aug. 1289; much to the indignation of Robert of Artois and his French knights, who forthwith left his service. He also went over to Languedoc, the next October, while James of Majorca was threatening Catalonia, and Sancho IV. assailing Arragon; and one day he came within Alfonso's border, and pretended that he would have surrendered himself, as he had promised, had there been any one to receive him, and to give back the hostages! Yet even James of Majorca was becoming weary of a struggle which had already cost him so much; nor could Philip keep it up with any vigour, standing aloof as he did, and leaving all the work to be done by his southern lords and by his allies,—even though he met Sancho, in the spring, at Bayonne, and got him to attack Arragon once more; and Charles the Lame himself was longing to have his sons restored to him.

This state of things led to an armistice (Oct. 1290⁹), which was followed up by a congress at Tarascon, wherein Charles and the ambassadors of England and Arragon, with the approval of the Pope's legates, settled the terms of a new treaty, Feb. 1291. There was to be peace between France, Naples, and Arragon; the hostages were to be released, and the count of Valois was to abandon his claims; and Alfonso, who was to be reconciled to the Church of Rome, and to have his title acknowledged, was to pledge himself to send no help whatever to his brother James or to the Sicilians¹.

Charles had already gained over the count of Valois by bestowing upon him Anjou and Maine (his father's fiefs),

⁹ Agreed to at a conference, on the Catalonian border, between Charles and Alfonso.

¹ No stipulation was made in favour of James of Majorca; but Charles got a treaty signed at La Jonquièrre, in April, by which the Pope was to arbitrate between the uncle and nephew.

together with the hand of his daughter *Margaret*²: but Philip had not yet given his formal consent in June, when Alfonso died of a sudden attack of illness and James of Sicily succeeded to the throne of Arragon. The tricky king now refused to ratify the treaty, hoping to squeeze money out of the clergy on the plea of a crusade: he had no thoughts, however, of a war in earnest, and was therefore glad enough, when he had drawn upon himself a quarrel with England, to make peace with Arragon at Anagnia by means of the friendly mediation of Pope Boniface VIII., June 1295. What had been stipulated at Tarascon was then performed; James also secretly promising to yield up Sicily, and to allow the king of France to employ forty Arragonese galleys against England³. These shameful articles were never carried into effect. James wanted all his resources for the civil war which again broke out in Castille when Sancho died; and in Sicily, the people called to the throne his younger brother *Frederic*, whom he had left behind in the island as viceroy.

While the foolish war, thus settled, was wearing itself out, Philip had been strengthening himself at home. His journey to Bayonne kept up the influence of the crown in Guienne: it also intimidated the count of Foix; who, being at feud with *Bernard VI.*, count of *Armagnac*, about the succession to Béarn, had set the royal seneschals at defiance, and was about to league himself with Edward of England and with Alfonso of Arragon. The count gave his son and two of his castles as hostages; he appeared at

² It was on this occasion that Philip gave up to Charles his lordship in the town of Avignon. See p. 300, note 9.

³ The Pope granted James the sovereignty of Sardinia and Corsica, as a sort of compensation for Sicily. James also married Charles's daughter *Blanche*; and his sister *Violante* was married to Charles's son Robert.

the parliament of Thoulouse, and sued for pardon, Oct. 1290⁴. In like manner, two years afterwards, when Charles of Valois was sent with an army to Valenciennes, which had claimed against its lord the protection of France, *John d'Avesnes*, the count of *Hainault*, let himself be brought to Paris as a prisoner, and submitted to the king's decision. And in the year 1293, the immediate lordship over James of Minorca's fief Montpellier, together with the possession of part of the town itself⁵, was bought of the bishop of *Maguelonne*. All this only whetted Philip's appetite for acquisition; as he grew older, he encroached more widely, and with remorseless craft and treachery. By a harsh sentence of forfeiture, followed up by a heavy fine, he managed to seize upon the counties of Angoulême and La Marche, after the death of *Hugh XIII.* (Nov. 1303); the real offence of *Guy of Lusignan*, the deprived heir, who had imprudently burnt his brother's unjust will, being the help which he had given the English⁶. Another important conquest was the great and rich city of Lyons⁷, which had

⁴ In the year 1293, he was ordered to fight a duel with his rival at Gisors, as he had been accused of forging his father-in-law's will. The king parted the combatants, and the dispute remained unsettled; the count having the actual possession of Béarn, which was not a fief of the crown, but of Aquitaine.

⁵ This was the Part Antique, or Montpellieret. The bishop, its owner, had got into a quarrel with the townspeople, and with the seneschal of Beaucaire, whom they had called upon for protection.

⁶ See p. 205, note 6. The fine of 12,000 livres put him at the king's mercy, and made him renounce his claims.

⁷ It had been the dowry of *Matilda*, daughter of Lewis d'Outremer, when she married Conrad, king of Burgundy, about the year 955. The part of the town on the right bank of the Saone still belonged to France.—Disputes having twice arisen between the Cathedral chapter and the citizens when the see was vacant, St. Lewis and his successor Philip the Hardy were called in as mediators. The latter obliged the new archbishop to swear fealty to him; and this oath had continued to be taken until it was refused by *Thomas of Savoy*, a son of *Thomas III.*, count of *Maurienne*.

belonged to the kingdom of Arles, and by Frederic Barbarossa had been granted to its archbishops, together with all regalian rights over it, and the title of Imperial vicar. It was besieged by the crown prince *Lewis* and his uncles, June 1210; the frightened citizens opened their gates; and the archbishop, whom they had supported in his refusal to take an oath of fealty to France, was fain to make a treaty in which he selfishly bartered the splendid immunities of his church⁸. For a while, the grasping king even got fast hold of the duchy of Aquitaine and of the county of Flanders; and with more lasting success, by his boldness and cunning, he achieved the ruin of the Templars, and he trampled down the pride and baffled the spiritual thunders of Rome.

His thirst for gold was unquenchable. Owing to his profusion, or to bad management, or perhaps to both of these causes, his treasury was always empty; so that he would seek to fill it by every kind of extortion⁹. He suddenly seized and imprisoned all the Italian traders as usurers, May 1291; terrifying them into paying heavy ransoms¹. Twenty years afterwards, Sept. 1311, he banished them all from his kingdom. Yet harder was the treatment of the Jews. None of those whom the rapacious bigotry of the age had cast forth out of Guienne and England², were

⁸ It was concluded in the year 1312. Pope Clement V. would neither ratify it nor cancel it.

⁹ Tablets containing the accounts of his treasurer for six months, in the year 1308, are still extant in the library of Geneva; and it would appear that he settled with his treasurer every twenty-five days, and that his expenses were not so great as one would expect. But confused accounts, kept without any system, are not much to be trusted.

¹ At the suggestion of his hateful financiers, the brothers *Bicio* and *Matteo Franzesi*. The cunning Florentines thus scared a rival bankers and merchants out of France.

² banished the Jews from Guienne, in 1289, and from the next year. There was a great outcry raised against

allowed to set their foot within his borders ; also, in June 1297, the debts owed to Jews by Christians were cancelled, one-fifth being kept for himself ; and on St. Mary Magdalene's Day, July 1306, every Hebrew was thrown into prison, stripped of his goods and possessions, and driven in misery out of France. This was partly done to allay the discontent which ran high against the government ; and therefore, as the storm blew over, many of the Israelites returned, although threatened with the penalty of death, and thus were once more expelled, Aug. 1311, only a few weeks before their rivals the Italians, and at a time when the people were maddened by the king's exactions. Philip indeed was the worst of the rapacious princes who abounded in that age³. Like these, he would lay burthensome and unlawful taxes on the clergy⁴, on the commonalty⁵, and on his lesser vassals⁶; and with even

them. They were said to have crucified a Christian child at Wesel, in Germany, April 1287, and to have been betrayed by the light which streamed from its body ; and at Paris, a Hebrew usurer was accused of having pierced a consecrated wafer, which a needy woman had secreted for him, until blood miraculously flowed.

³ The impulse given to European civilization by the crusades, also increased the luxury and expense of courts ; and the practice of hiring mercenaries had begun to be a heavy drain upon an ill-managed exchequer. Hence the rapacity even of Edward of England.

⁴ An ordinance of the parliament, Nov. 1291, also checked the acquisition by the clergy of lands in mortmain, requiring a sum equal to six years' rent to be paid as a compensation for the extinction of the feudal incidents.

⁵ The *mallôte* (*mal tolte*), a contribution of every hundredth, and afterwards of every fiftieth penny, was imposed on traders, then on all the commonalty, and at length on the clergy. It had its name from the harsh and unjust way in which it was levied. As early as the year 1292, it caused an outbreak at Rouen against the fiscal officers, which was cruelly punished.

⁶ He once exacted from his vassals and their tenants one-third of

bolder recklessness, he would tamper with the coinage, not being ashamed to decry his own work when he had reaped the profit⁷. Thus, in June 1306, finding that his revenues were becoming less productive, he ordered the standard fixed by St. Lewis to be restored, and would only take his light and debased money at its intrinsic worth; on which the citizens of Paris, enraged that the rent of their houses would cost them thrice as much as they had bargained for, rose and beset the Temple, where he was lodging, and tried to starve him when he refused to see them. Luckily for him, a sudden rush of the crowd to attack the dwelling of one *Stephen Barbet*, a large house-owner, gave him time to bring out his archers; so that the rioters were put down, and many of them were hanged on the trees around the city. He thought fit, notwithstand-

their goods. By an ordinance issued on Palm Sunday 1294, all persons whose rental was less than 6000 livres, were bidden to take their plate to the royal mint.

⁷ Originally, the pound of silver had been divided into twenty sols (sous) or shillings. Philip I. had alloyed the coin with a third of copper; and by the time that St. Lewis was king, there was not more than a pound of silver in seventy-five sols. There were, however, no complaints; perhaps because the value of silver had been raised by the drain which the crusades had occasioned. But the rapacity of Philip the Fair so deteriorated the coinage, that a pound weight of silver was eked out into about 252 sols. The importation of foreign coin was forbidden, and it was even made a crime to weigh or to assay the king's money! At last, in June 1313, he would allow no money to be circulated but his black deniers or pennies, which he called *bourgeois*, and his *deniers à l'agneau*, which (like the agnells of St. Lewis) were of fine gold; and he gave a fictitious value to the black rubbish by making fifteen sols tournois of it equivalent to the golden denier. He had previously limited the rate of interest, and had ended by prohibiting it altogether, Dec. 1312. He had also, in the year 1307, suspended the exercise of the feudal rights of coinage, and thus got his lords to sell him their privilege cheaply.

ing, to modify his ordinance⁸, limiting its effect, as far as he could do it without loss to himself. Some good, however, he did during his reign, by increasing the privileges of towns, and giving new rights to the middle and lower classes; not that he cared for their well-being, but because he wanted their support, as he mistrusted his clergy and nobles. In Languedoc, he emancipated his serfs throughout the districts of 'Thoulouse and Alby, from all personal bondage, April 1298, and allowed the lords to follow his example⁹. This was a great boon in itself; and what was more, it was a precedent for the wider emancipation which was granted by the next king.

Most disgraceful were Philip's dealings with Edward of England, of whose power he was doubly jealous after hearing of the conquest of Wales, and of the abject submission of Scotland. The English king had ever been faithful as a kinsman¹, and as a vassal, it was his policy, on account of his own barons and the Scotch, to set the example of feudal obedience; his nobles were French in language and manners; the upright dealing of St. Lewis and a long peace had smoothed down the old points of collision, and but for the strong dislike which the middle and lower classes in both countries had to each other,—a

⁸ In October.—In June, to gratify the nobles, he had allowed the restoration of judicial combats in certain cases. Their disuse was said to have increased perjury, and to have introduced the practice of torture.

⁹ For every *sesterée* of land, the serfs were to pay a yearly sum of twelve deniers tournois.—The personal servitude had probably been more profitable to his officers than to himself.

¹ Margaret, the widow of St. Lewis, was still a link between the two royal families. With her daughter Blanche, the widow of the prince of Castille, she lived in the Franciscan nunnery of St. Marceau which she had founded. There she died, Dec. 1295.

feeling heightened of late by the competition of trade,—even a handle for a quarrel would have been hard to find. A fight between a Norman and an English seaman, at a watering-place in the port of Bayonne, was now enough to bring on a war. The Norman having been killed, his shipmates, enraged that the slayer was rescued out of their hands, put to sea, boarded an English ship, and cutting down some of the crew, took out a Gascon merchant and hanged him high from their mast with a dog at his heels²! They likewise stirred up the sailors of France and Genoa to avenge them upon the English and Gascons; the sea swarmed with pirate fleets, and lawless ruffians were free to burn, and sink, and rob, and shed blood without stint. They were signally chastised. In April 1293, two hundred and forty French vessels of all kinds, which had swept the channel and pillaged the coast of Gascony, were engaged near St. Mahé, in Britany³, by eighty good ships, fitted out by the barons of the cinque ports and the men of Portsmouth; and after a struggle, in which the crews were either slain or drowned, they were all of them carried off as prizes by the English, together with the plunder with which they were heavily laden.

Although Edward would have no share of the booty which had been taken without his leave, such an affair was not likely to be overlooked or forgiven. The Norman shipowners loudly called upon their king for redress; the impetuous Charles of Valois was crying out that the honour of the crown of France was at stake; and there came tidings that the mariners of Bayonne, and other Gascons, had been foremost in an attempt made, while the English were flushed with their victory, to surprise and plunder Ro-

² This seems to have taken place in the year 1292.

³ The French and Normans, when challenged, came out and fought around a ship which had been moored in the offing.

chelle⁴. It was at once ordered that the persons thus accused should be delivered up for trial before the court of the seneschal of Périgord ; and that that functionary should sequester Bordeaux and all the lands belonging to Edward which lay within his jurisdiction. The civil officers who were sent upon this business, being driven off and beaten⁵ ; the English king was cited, in November, to appear before the parliament of Paris on the twentieth day after Christmas, to answer for the offences which had been committed against his liege lord. Unwilling to be deemed a faithless vassal, Edward wished to settle the matter by negotiation ; and when the proffers of his first ambassador, the bishop of *London*, were rejected⁶, he employed his own brother Edmund, who was the husband of the French queen's mother. That simple diplomatist was told by his step-daughter, and by Mary of Brabant, both of whom had undertaken to mediate in his behalf, that Philip, for the sake of his honour, only wanted twenty of the most guilty to be tried at Paris, and six of the towns in Aquitaine to be yielded up for a while to his officers : the two kings would then meet at Amiens and settle their differences as friends. A secret treaty was accordingly drawn up, which was signed by the queen ; accepted by Edward, who even went so far as to order the whole of his Gascon duchy to be surrendered⁷ ; and acknowledged by Philip himself before

⁴ The Gascons were also said to have played their part in the late fight. At Rochelle, some of the townsmen were killed, and much merchandise taken.

⁵ Several Gascons who had appealed to the royal courts, had to suffer confiscation and banishment, and even death by hanging, with a fork fastened about their necks.

⁶ He offered compensation, if the French would also make restitution ; and when this was refused, he proposed to refer the matter to the Pope, or to arbitrators.

⁷ Edward, who was then a widower, was to have Margaret of

witnesses, his loyalty and faith as a king being pledged to it. Aquitaine was forthwith surrendered to the constable of France, Feb. 1294, and the citation was also withdrawn.

When forty days were ended, Edmund Crouchback reminded Philip of his promise to restore Guienne: but after a little shuffling and delay, the shameless French sovereign actually pronounced judgment in parliament against Edward for default of appearance; citing him besides to answer to fresh charges, the following May¹, at Paris. Such a mandate could not be obeyed. The king of England wrote in high indignation to his vassals in Aquitaine, owning that he had been outwitted, and that he had done wrong in giving them up without asking their leave; and he sent a herald to Philip, to renounce his homage, and prepared for war. Looking around for allies, he tried, but in vain, to get help from the kings of Castille and Arragon, and from the count of Foix. He stirred up *Adolphus of Nassau*, the king of the Romans, to revive the old imperial claims in Arles and Burgundy², giving him one hundred thousand pounds to raise troops; he took into his service his brother-in-law, John II., count of Britany and earl of Richmond; and by subsidies and marriage treaties, he enlisted on his side the count of Flanders and other princes in the Netherlands and the Lower Rhine³. The pride of Adolphus had

France, Philip's sister; and on the children of that marriage Guienne was to be settled. That there might therefore be a new enfeoffment of the duchy, it was to be surrendered for forty days.

² The Norman residents at Bayonne, and the king's serjeants in several places, had been hanged by the Gascons. At Fréniac, some of the royal custom-house officers had been enticed on board a ship, and beheaded.

³ The restoration of the kingdom of Arles was demanded in a threatening letter dated Aug. 1294.

¹ His daughter *Eleanor* had been married, Sept. 1293, to the heir

been hurt by the negotiations, afterwards completed at Vincennes (March 1295), in which his vassal Otho IV., count of Burgundy, had settled his fief, as a dower, upon his daughter *Jane*, who was affianced to *Philip*, the second son of the king of France²: but he contented himself with empty threats, and would risk nothing.

While Robert II., duke of Burgundy, was entrusted with the safeguard of the provinces on the Rhone against Adolphus; Philip bade Charles of Valois and the Constable gather together the men of Anjou and the neighbouring districts and the men of Languedoc, and make head against the English in Aquitaine. There the French party was strong among the nobles: but when a force had landed in the Gironde, which Edward was not able to send until midwinter, Blaye, Bayonne, and most of the towns had declared for their old masters, whose rule they deemed better for their trade and privileges. Many of these were retaken; for their garrisons were weak, and neither *Sir John St. John* nor the duke of Britany could stand their ground at first against the armies which assailed them³.

of Bar, afterwards count Henry III. (A.D. 1296); and his daughter *Jane* had lately become the wife, Jan. 1294, of John II., duke of Brabant, with whom and Reginald I., count of Gueldres, subsidy treaties were signed in April 1295.

² Philip the Fair became administrator of the province, and soon afterwards erected the parliament of Besançon, which was remarkable for its large powers. The nobles of the country withstood the rule of the French; especially after the birth of Otho's son Robert, in the year 1300, and the death of Otho himself, April 1303. On the decease of Robert the Child, in the year 1315, all opposition ended.

³ When besieged by Charles of Valois in St. Réole, April 1295, they were driven out by the inhabitants, after the French had hanged before the gates sixty men of Pondensac, a town basely yielded up by its English garrison to the Constable. Charles's troops now rushed into St. Réole, and massacred the people; which greatly hurt the French cause in Gascony.

The next year, Edmund Crouchback, whose movements had been delayed by ill health, died very soon after he came over from England, June 1296; and Charles of Valois was recalled, and the French were commanded by Robert of Artois. Robert had the help of the count of Foix; and at the end of harvest, he surprised and cut off an important convoy, near Dax, St. John himself falling into his hands: but as the troops on neither side were strong enough to do much, a wearisome war of pillage dragged on, by which Gascony was wasted. The resources of Edward had been crippled by a rebellion of the Welsh, and by the struggle in which he overpowered his ill-used vassal, *John Baliol*, king of Scotland, whom Philip had cunningly roused up against him⁴. He would therefore have yielded to the dictation of the Pope, who had enjoined a truce to have begun on St. John's Day—a mandate which Adolphus of Nassau was quite ready to obey, but which the legates hardly dared to present at the court of France⁵.

The treachery of Philip had been characteristically shown of late,—in the year 1295,—in his dealings with Guy of Flanders, whose daughter *Philippa* had been affianced to *Edward*, prince of *Wales*, with a promise of a rich dower of two hundred thousand pounds. As he happened to have been godfather to *Philippa*, he said that he should be greatly hurt if she did not come and see him before her marriage; and thus enticed the count and his child to Paris, where they were both of them seized and kept imprisoned in the tower of the *Louvre*. Such a bride and such a dower were not to be bestowed upon the enemy of his kingdom! Guy indeed managed to escape, shortly

⁴ An alliance had been concluded between France and Scotland, Oct. 1295, and *Isabel* of *Valois*, Philip's infant niece, affianced to Baliol's son *Edward*.

⁵ Notwithstanding the reluctance of his legates, Boniface prolonged the truce from one year to three, under pain of excommunication.

afterwards ; but his daughter languished in captivity for about ten years, and was only set free by an untimely death. This was a heavy blow to the influence of England, as was also a treaty, somewhat later, by which the count of Brittany was gained over, Jan. 1297⁶. He followed Philip into Flanders, the summer after his defection ; and on his return, in September, was created a duke and peer of France, with rank next to the duke of Burgundy.

Although the designs of the count of Flanders against his sovereign had been disconcerted by his mishap, he plucked up courage, after a while, to demand the liberation of his daughter, and renewed his league with Edward⁷, Jan. 1297. *Amadius V.*, count of *Savoy*, undertook to promote a rising of the malcontents in the county of Burgundy ; and a grand combination was arrayed against France of Rhenish and Low Country prelates and princes, headed by the king of the Romans, and freely subsidized by England. Of all these allies, however, the only one who moved was *Henry III.*, count of *Bar*⁸ ; who made an incursion into Champagne, the queen's fief, and had to turn back and fight *Walter de Cressy*, lord of *Châtillon*, by whom he was taken prisoner⁹. Thus was Guy left alone to bear the whole brunt of the war ; and as he had lost the hearts of the people in the

⁶ He was urged by his subjects, an English fleet in want of provisions having burnt St. Mahé and pillaged their coasts ; and he himself was angry at the appointment of *Henry de Lacy*, earl of *Lincoln*, to the command in Aquitaine. Isabel of Valois was now promised to his grandson John.

⁷ *Isabella*, another daughter, was then promised to the prince of Wales, instead of Philippa. She afterwards married *John de Fiennes*.

⁸ Philip seems to have bribed largely, which indeed would partly account for his constant want of money.

⁹ When at last set free, June 1301, he agreed to do homage to France for all that he held on the west of the Meuse.

towns by his encroachments on their rights, his position was any thing but safe. Shutting himself up within the disaffected city of Bruges, he awaited the coming storm.

By the beginning of June, Philip the Fair had mustered a gallant army, with which he himself crossed the Flemish border, and sat down before Lisle. The country also on the sea-coast was invaded by Robert of Artois; who led thither the troops from Aquitaine and a large force of his own vassals, burning the houses and breaking down the dykes, as he advanced. At the sight of such havoc, about sixteen thousand men rose and withstood that chief-tain, near Furnes¹: but though indeed they fought bravely, and his only son *Philip*, lord of *Conches*, was mortally wounded, he routed them with great slaughter, Aug. 1297, and Furnes, Cassel, and all the neighbouring towns opened their gates to him². Another body of Flemings, which was marching to the relief of Lisle, where food had begun to be scanty, was beaten, at Comines, by a detachment under the constable de Nesle and *Guy IV.*, count of *St. Pol*; so that Robert of Béthune, who had charge of the besieged city, despaired of holding out much longer, and fled to Bruges. From Bruges, the count of Flanders and Robert of Béthune and Edward of England, the last of whom only came late in August and with few soldiers³, had to betake themselves in haste to Ghent: for Philip had entered Lisle, and had seized upon Courtray, and was drawing nigh to attack them. The successful king met

¹ At Pont à Vendin.—Most of these men were from the trainbands of the towns. There were a few men-at-arms, whose leaders, count William, of Juliers, and some other lords, were taken prisoners, and sent in two covered carts to Paris.

² The following September, his fief Artois was raised to the rank of a peerage county.

³ Edward's exactions, which had heavily fallen on the clergy and on the towns, had lost him the support of his subjects.

with a hearty welcome in the place which they had left, and threatened them with a siege in their new abode ; so that they sent and begged for an armistice, which he readily granted, as he thus kept every thing that he had won, Oct. 1297.

The truce was again and again renewed. Both kings had reason to dread the discontent which their exactions had aroused ; and though Edward tried to get up a fresh league against France, he soon saw that it was hopeless, and that he wanted a peace which would set him free to deal with his troublesome subjects at home, and with the Scotch. When, therefore, he besought the Pope to mediate, Philip agreed without much difficulty to an arbitration⁴. By a "final" award, the terms of which were embodied twelve months afterwards, in the treaty of Montreuil-sur-Mer, June 1299, a part—how much, was yet to be defined—of the confiscated duchy of Aquitaine was to be restored ; and it was settled that the king of England and his son the prince of Wales were to marry *Margaret* and *Isabella* of France, the sister and the daughter of Philip⁵. Margaret indeed was brought over to Canterbury by the duke of Brittany, and became the queen of Edward, Sept. 1299 : but the partition of Aquitaine remained in abeyance, the two kings having consented, with the sanction of the Pope, that each should hold for the present what he happened to possess. This gave Philip the lion's share while the truce lasted.

On both sides, allies had been selfishly forsaken. Thus the Scotch were at the mercy of Edward⁶ ; and they who

⁴ Philip, however, insisted that the Pope should arbitrate as Benedict Caietan, and not as the pontiff Boniface VIII.

⁵ Isabella, when thus affianced, was about eight years old. The claims which she gave the English kings, her descendants, to the crown of France, fearfully requited on that country the duplicity of Philip the Fair.

⁶ Philip, however, got Baliol released, and removed him to Bailiul, the seat of his Norman ancestors.

in the Low Countries had come forth to his help, had to bear the whole brunt of his rival's vengeance. As for Adolphus of Nassau, he had already fallen. His vanquisher, *Albert I., of Austria*, though not acknowledged by the Pope, was openly taken into friendship by Philip; who held a conference with him at Vaucouleurs, Dec. 1297, and even bestowed the hand of his half-sister *Blanche*⁷ upon his eldest son *Rodolf*.

Early the next year, as soon as the truce with count Guy was at an end, Charles of Valois was sent with a large army into Flanders. Douay and Bruges were easily occupied; twice—near Courtray and Damme—was Robert de Béthune put to flight; and in a short time, almost every thing was conquered but the city of Ghent. Even in Ghent, Guy so mistrusted the people that he deemed himself a lost man: he therefore went out of it, with his sons Robert and *William*, and his chief lords, to meet the count of Valois, May 1300; catching at a treacherous promise that, if he would so yield himself up, his lands and his honours should be restored to him. As might have been foreseen, the word and truth then pledged were worthless; for the ensnared captives were hurried away into French prisons, and Flanders was annexed to the domains of the crown. Philip now visited the wealthy cities of his new conquest, and was entertained with splendid hospitality⁸: but he did not enlarge their privileges, as his partisans had been led to hope; and when he returned homewards, he set over the province his wife's half-uncle, the rapacious *James of Châtillon*⁹, a

⁷ Blanche died childless, in the year 1306.

⁸ "One sees nothing but queens at Bruges," said his queen with disgust, on beholding the fine dresses of the tradesmen's wives.

⁹ Matilda of Brabant, dowager countess of Artois, the queen's grandmother, had for her second husband Guy III., count of St. Pol. Of that marriage, James de Châtillon was the third son.

brother of the count of St. Pol. The insolence and exactions of that man were unbearable; but no complaints against him were ever listened to.

While at war with England, Philip had drawn upon himself a quarrel with the Pope, by taxing the French clergy without their consent¹⁰. Boniface, in his anger, put forth a bull¹, Feb. 1296, by which ecclesiastics were everywhere forbidden to pay, and laymen—whether emperors, kings, or lords—to receive, even as a loan or gift, any subsidies out of the goods of the Church, unless they had leave from the Holy See; and this decree was to be enforced by the extreme penalties of excommunication. Although not named, Philip felt his pride to have been deeply wounded; so, in his turn, he made an ordinance (Aug. 1296), that no one should export gold, silver, jewels, provisions, horses, and arms, from his kingdom without a licence². Against this and a prohibition to foreign traders from settling in France, vehement remonstrances were written from Rome³: but as the French clergy sided with the king, Boniface lowered his tone, and not only yielded his sanction to the fulfilment of feudal obligations, but even to free gifts, and to the payment of taxes suddenly raised in times of danger⁴.

Nor did his devotion to French interests seem to have

¹⁰ He made them pay the maltote.—The English clergy were also fleeced by Edward, after a struggle in which the Pope hardly took any part.

¹ Called "*Clericis laicos*," from the opening words: "*Clericis laicos infestos oppido tradit antiquitas*."

² This, of course, would stop the stream of wealth which flowed out of France to the court of Rome.

³ In the bull "*Ineffabilis*," Sept. 1296.

⁴ Especially in the bull dated July 1297, called forth by the remonstrance of *Peter Barbet*, archbishop of *Rheims*, and his suffragans. By that time, the feud between the Pope and the *Colonnas* had broken out.

in the least abated. He canonized St. Lewis, Aug. 1297; he mediated, as we have seen, between France and England; he upheld the pretensions of Charles the Lame's grandson to the throne of Hungary; and he called Charles of Valois into Italy, as Imperial Vicar, Nov. 1300, and wanted to secure for him the Empire itself, as well in the East as in the West⁵.

But it was not easy to be long at peace with such a king as Philip. Hardly had the new century begun, than *Bernard of Saisset*, bishop of *Pamiers*⁶, was sent to remonstrate with him; his officers having interfered in the ecclesiastical county of Melgueil⁷, while he himself had received the homage of *Amabric II.*, viscount of *Narbonne*, for the half of the city and borough of *Narbonne*, which should have been held of the archbishop⁸. The legate, a hot-headed man, seems to have sharply taken to task a faithless sovereign, with whom he also had a quarrel about the rights of his see. His rashness cost him dear, as he was a French subject, and could be entangled in the skilfully contrived meshes of the crown lawyers. In May 1301, commissioners went down to *Thoulouse*, to gather evidence of his free spoken words⁹;

⁵ By his management, Charles of Valois married *Catherine*, the daughter of *Philip of Courtenay*, and the grandchild of the last Latin emperor of Constantinople.

⁶ The Pope had taken upon himself to make *Pamiers* a see, Sept. 1295. It had belonged to the diocese of *Thoulouse*.

⁷ *Melgueil* was held of the Pope by the bishop and church of *Maguelonne*, to whom it had been granted out of the spoils of *Thoulouse* by *Innocent III.*

⁸ The Pope had also had to complain, in the year 1299, of the behaviour of the counts of *Artois* and *Foix* to the bishops of *Cambray* and *Pamiers*. Moreover *Philip* had not given up the temporalities of the see of *Rheims* to *Robert of Courtenay*, the new archbishop.

⁹ He was said to have called the king illegitimate, and a false coiner; to have given out that St. Lewis had prophesied the extinction of the royal line, because of unrighteousness, in the tenth king

in the month of July, he was seized in his palace in the dead of night, and his servants examined by torture; and after being shut up in prison until nearly the end of October, he was dragged before the king's council at Senlis, to answer to the charges of treason¹, heresy, blasphemy, and simony, which had been drawn up against him by Peter Flotte, the chancellor. All these he denied; yet he was put under the keeping of his time-serving metropolitan, *Giles Ascelin*, the archbishop of *Narbonne*, and the Pope was required to degrade him from the priesthood, as one who was doomed to death for his crimes.

At the receipt of such a message, the rage of Boniface broke out. In a set of bulls put forth on the fifth of December, he demanded the release of the legate; suspended the privileges granted to the kings of France; convoked the prelates, dignitaries, and doctors of the Gallican Church to a council which was to be held at Rome²; and at great length rebuked Philip for his misdeeds, not only against the clergy but his people. The exhortation was meant to be a fatherly one, the bull itself beginning with the words "*Ausculda Fili:*" but it was too spirited and too true to be borne by a prince whose ears had only been accustomed to flattery; and it was injudiciously coupled with high-flying assumptions, claiming from all temporal potentates the fullest submission to the head of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

The bull is said to have been publicly burnt by Philip from Hugh Capet; to have denied that he held Pamiers of the crown; and to have exhorted the count of Foix and others to revolt.

¹ He was accused of seeking to bring Languedoc under the dominion either of the count of Foix or the king of Arragon.

² For the reformation of the king and his kingdom.—Philip was invited to be present, if he chose.

in his capital³. He dealt with it more effectually by enlisting the support of all classes in the nation; convoking, for the first time, a legislative body in which the Third Estate, represented by the deputies from the towns, had a voice as well as the clergy and the nobles. When the States General had met in the cathedral church of Paris, April 1302, his cunning chancellor did not bring forward a document which had touched upon many real grievances: but a much shorter letter was read, which, in half-a-dozen curt sentences, strung together the most offensive of the papal pretensions⁴; and with it a coarse and rude answer, of the same length, which the king was stated to have made⁵.

The three orders having withdrawn into separate halls, the nobility and the commons wrote to the college of cardinals, strongly protesting against all claim of temporal authority on the part of Boniface, who was only named as "he who at present is seated in the government of the Church;" and even the clergy, though they wanted to

³ Feb. 1302.—It appears indeed that the Pope afterwards complained by his legate that a bull of his had been burnt: but it was answered that this was only a bull which the Church of Laon had obtained against the magistrates of the town, and had declined to act upon; and that it had only been burnt that it might never be made use of.

⁴ "The Little Bull" has by many been deemed genuine. But Boniface complained, in the consistory, of the falsifications of "that Achitophel Peter Flotte;" and it is not likely that, on the same day, he should have written a lengthy bull in his usual parental style, and a short one more offensive, from which, however, every thing that could really alarm the king was left out. It is more probable that Peter Flotte drew up the Little Bull as a summary, and afterwards allowed it to be mistaken for the original letter.

⁵ It is doubtful whether "the Short Letter"—a curious parody in which the Pope's "sanctitas" is addressed as "maxima tua fatuitas"—was ever sent to Boniface. It certainly drew forth no complaint or remonstrance.

temporize, fully pledged themselves to uphold the independence of the crown, and besought the Pope not to endanger the union of church and state, but to recall the summons to the council. As this was not done, many of them still deemed themselves bound to repair to Rome, notwithstanding the king's prohibition ⁶.

In a consistory held in June, the cardinals answered the appeal of the French laity by denying that the supreme pontiff had ever asserted that the king was subject to him in temporal matters; and the Pope himself complained of the construction which had been put upon his words ⁷. But none of this was sincere, as was shown in a few months, when the council had opened. For then was the bull "Unam Sanctam" drawn up, the well-known decree which declares that the one holy Catholic Church has one body and one head ⁸; that belonging to it are two swords, the one to be wielded by the priest, the other by kings and knights, at his beck and with his leave; that the temporal sword and authority must yield to the spiritual, and that it should be received as an article of faith necessary for salvation, that every human being was under the Pope. Another bull excommunicated all persons, of whatever rank, who should hinder any one from going to Rome, or from returning thence, Nov. 1302. After which, *John le Moine*, cardinal of *St. Cecilia*, was sent as legate to France, to induce Philip to retrace his steps; and in the meanwhile, Boniface sought to strengthen himself by winning over the other princes with whom he was at

⁶ Philip seized their goods and chattels.—He likewise thought fit to restrain the inquisitors in Languedoc, and also to protect the Jews.

⁷ He also explained that kings were only subject to him as sinners (*ratione peccati*).

⁸ The *one head* is rather curiously defined to be Christ, Peter (his vicar), and Peter's successor.

strife. Thus he recognized Albert of Austria as king of the Romans (April 1303), and Frederic of Arragon as king of Trinacria or Sicily (May 1303⁹).

When the legate arrived in France, he could do nothing: his statement of grievances was calmly answered, the exile *Stephen Colonna* openly befriended, and not a single concession could be wrung from the king. At a council in the Louvre at Paris, attended chiefly by laymen¹, March 1303, *William de Nogaret*, keeper of the seals², spoke fiercely against the Pope; accusing him of usurpation, heresy, simony, and the most fearful crimes, and demanding that he should be kept in prison until he was tried by a general council³. For this, the following April, Philip was excommunicated—a sentence which he was fully prepared to deal with. The priests who bore the bulls were shut up in a dungeon at Troyes; and in the month of June, there was a great assembly of prelates, counts, and barons at the Louvre, wherein, to blacken the character of Boniface still worse, a fresh set of virulent charges⁴ were presented by *William du Plessis*⁵, a knighted jurist, who

⁹ In recognizing the king of Sicily, he at length complied with the wishes of the indolent Charles the Lame.

¹ Only five bishops would come to it. Among these was the archbishop of Narbonne.

² He was a jurist and magistrate of Languedoc, whom Philip had knighted, and had now taken as his chief adviser; the chancellor having lately perished in Flanders.

³ The king and the cardinals were to name a vicar of the Roman church.

⁴ Twenty-nine articles were presented, the truth of which was sworn to by William du Plessis. The Pope was charged with not believing in transubstantiation, because his throne was more adorned than the altar itself; and on equally convincing grounds, he was accused of having denied the immortality of the soul, and of being guilty of magic and unnatural crimes.

⁵ Like William de Nogaret, Du Plessis (or Plasian) was of Languedoc, and of Albigenian stock.

was the spokesman of *Lewis*, the king's brother, and of the count of St. Pol, and of *John II.*, count of *Dreux*. This new appeal to a general council was also accepted; Philip pledging himself to strive to get together such a synod, and five archbishops, twenty-one bishops, and several abbots and priors signing a deed in approval of what was done. Letters written to the prelates, barons, magistrates, cathedral and monastic chapters, colleges, cities and towns, both in France and in Navarre, procured likewise more than seven hundred acts of adhesion⁶.

The Pope heard of these proceedings at Anagnia, whither he had gone for the summer. He replied with some dignity to slanders which for the moment had served the purpose of his foes, but which in the long run could not fail to damage their cause; and after issuing several other bulls against France, he drew up a sentence of deposition, releasing Philip's subjects from their allegiance, and only waited until the eighth of September, the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, to publish it.

On the morning of the day before, by a bold and sudden stroke, all his plans were scattered to the winds. The gate of the town having been treacherously opened, William de Nogaret, who in the spring had been sent into Italy⁷, burst in with *Sciarra Colonna*⁸ and a large body of followers, and arrested him in his palace. They dared not indeed carry him away or kill him, and he was rescued after three days by the people, and they themselves driven out:

⁶ *John* of *Pontoise*, abbot of *Cîteaux*, alone had the hardihood to refuse. In the end, he was forced to abdicate.

⁷ With *John Musciatti Franzesi* and an unlimited credit on the bank of the *Peruzzi* at Florence. He had bribed many of the barons of the Campagna, and the Captain of Justice at Anagnia itself.

⁸ A brother of *Stephen Colonna*, and of the two deposed cardinals.

but the shock was too much for the old man, and broke a heart which in the hour of his trial had never flinched. When he had returned to Rome, trouble and rage threw him into a fever, of which he died, Oct. 1303.

Benedict XI., the new pope, shrank aghast from a contest which had been so deadly. He received Philip's envoys⁹, and wrote to him, April 1304: he also repealed, one by one, the censures against him and his subjects, the case of Nogaret alone excepted. That person, together with Sciarra Colonna and thirteen others, he cited to appear at his judgment-seat, before the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul (June 29). The summons was not obeyed. In the beginning of the next month, Benedict was a dead man, poisoned, it was believed, by the agents of France.

While thus successful against Rome, Philip had lost Flanders. It was at Bruges that the revolt first broke out. Thirty chiefs of guilds, foremost of whom was the bold and eloquent *Peter König*¹, the one-eyed consul of the weavers, having been cast into prison, in the summer of the year 1301, at the bidding of James of Châtillon, when they had dared to complain that the work done for the government was not paid for; the trades took up arms, marched to the castle where the magistrates were sitting, slew some citizens of high rank², and rescued their leaders. At the end of that year, the parliament of Paris decreed that these should be led back to their dungeons; on which the artizans again arose in large numbers, went out of the city, and made themselves masters of the less

⁹ Among them was Du Plessis.—They were empowered to receive, but not to demand absolution.

¹ Also called *Le Roi*, the French version of his name.

² The high-born citizens sided with the French tyrant; who was a few against the many, and hated upstart mechanics whose he envied and coveted.

strongly garrisoned towns and castles in the district called the Franchises, killing almost every Frenchman whom they found. To check the movement, James of Châtillon threw himself into Bruges with fifteen hundred men-at-arms; but only to fall into a trap, out of which he hardly escaped with his life. For in the dead of night, March 21st, 1302, the insurgent bands stole back into the unwall'd city³, in which the trades had also silently gathered together, and chains had been stretched across the thoroughfares; the cry was then raised of "Death to the French!" and as these awoke, they were attacked both in the streets and in the houses, the very women pitching them headlong out of the windows. Three whole days did the butchery last; and when all was over, twelve hundred men-at-arms and two thousand foot soldiers had either been struck down or deliberately seized and put to death.

Peter König, who was no selfish demagogue, clearly saw that the cause of the people would gain weight by having a prince at its head, and therefore called upon *William of Juliers*; who was a grandson of their captive count⁴, and whose elder brother, also named *William*, had been taken prisoner at Furnes, and had died in one of the dungeons of the count of Artois. William of Juliers threw off his clerical habit; hastened to Bruges; tried, but without success, to get the city of Ghent to revolt; and had already reduced Sluys, Nieuport, Bergues, Furnes, and Gravelines, when he was joined by his half-uncle *Guy*, a

³ The walls of Bruges had been razed to the ground at the command of Philip himself.

⁴ Son of *Mary of Flanders* and of *William*, the eldest son of *William IV.*, count of *Juliers*, who never succeeded to Juliers, as he was slain with his father in battle, and thus the county passed into the line of a younger brother.

son of the count of Flanders by his second marriage⁵. More towns were now conquered; but while William was besieging Cassel, and Guy and the main body of the Flemings were before the citadel of Courtray, the former had to break up his camp and return to help his kinsman, whose position was threatened by an army of 50,000 French, brought together by the veteran Robert of Artois, the hero of Furnes, July 1302. As Courtray was in an open plain, it was hopeless to retreat before an active foe who had double their numbers and was strong in cavalry; so the two chieftains drew up their forces behind a small canal which discharged itself into the Lys, the gentlemen dismounting to share on foot the hazard of the day with the workmen, twenty thousand of whom stood firm in their ranks, each holding a stout stake fanged with iron⁶. Mass was said, and every man stooped down and swallowed a little dust in token of his willingness to have received the communion in that trying hour; after which, Guy of Flanders and William of Juliers passed along the line of battle, inspiring the patriot warriors, and knighting Peter König and forty of his stalwart comrades. Headlong, in a blinding cloud of dust, rushed upon them the gallant chivalry of France, led by the Constable, whom a foolish taunt had stung to madness⁷; but the foremost

⁵ With *Isabella of Luxemburg*, whose father had withdrawn his claims to the marquisate of Namur, which had belonged to the Courtenays after the death of *Philip* (the brother of Baldwin IX. of Flanders), and had been sold to the count of Flanders by the wife of Baldwin II. of Constantinople. In the year 1297, the count gave Namur to John, his eldest son, by Isabella.

⁶ This weapon was ironically called a "*guttentag*."

⁷ He had wisely proposed to get between the Flemings and Courtray. "Are you afraid of these conies?" answered Robert of Artois, "or have you some of the same hair?" As the Constable died by marriage to the house of Flanders, this insinuation of deeply hurt him.

squadrons were suddenly brought to a stand by the scarped bank of the canal, which swept round in a curve and hemmed them in, while the weight of the rest of the column kept pressing on from behind; some were trampled down, others were thrown by their restive horses, many were pushed into the water, and the whole array became a helpless and confused mass. Quick as lightning, Guy and William crossed at both flanks, over a bridge of bodies, and dashed in among them. The struggling crowd, encumbered by their heavy armour and closely wedged together, were slaughtered like sheep by the half-armed Flemings; and besides Robert, of Artois, James of Châtillon, *John d'Avoyne* (the count of Hainault's eldest son), Peter Flotte, the Chancellor, and the Constable and the two marshals of France⁸, more than two hundred lords, and as many as twenty thousand knights and soldiers are said to have perished⁹. Four thousand pair of gilt spurs were collected on the bloody field, and hung up as trophies in the churches of Flanders.

Philip met this dreadful disaster with unbroken spirit. By a great effort¹, he at once raised an army of 70,000 men; and after calling Charles of Valois from Italy, to organize a reserve, he set out, in September, to carry on the war against the Flemings; who were now masters of

⁸ *Guy de Neale*, the Constable's brother, and *Simon de Melun*.

⁹ Also among the slain were John I., count of Aumale, *John de Braine II.*, count of *Eu*, and the count of *Tancarville*, the High Chamberlain. Louis of Clermont (afterwards duke of Bourbon), the duke of Burgundy, and the count of St. Pol, ingloriously saved themselves by flight.—Historians have incorrectly added the names of several other great nobles to the list of the killed.

¹ He called out the "*ban*," and the "*arrière ban*," or reserve. He also heavily taxed all classes of his subjects, tampered with the coinage, sold patents of nobility, and allowed many of the crown serfs to buy their freedom.

Ghent and Lisle, and had brought together, at Douay, a vast body of infantry under Guy and his elder brother *John*, count of *Namur*². These, when he came up to them, kept him at bay during the whole of the next month, often beating the French knights in skirmishes, though they would not risk a pitched battle ; so that, as the season advanced and the rains flooded the country, he was forced to break up his camp, and to return home for the winter.

Edward of England, whose envoys had but lately begged in vain for a settled peace, gained greatly by the change which had befallen his rival. He hung back, in his turn, and did not leave his kingdom when invited to a friendly conference ; yet before the year was over, having heard that the people of Bordeaux had driven out the French garrison, but without declaring for him, he listened more readily to Philip's offers. A final treaty was accordingly concluded at Paris, May 1303, by which he recovered the duchy of Aquitaine and all the lands and lordships which he had lost ; it being also stipulated that he should present himself at Amiens, on the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, and there renew his homage. The Scotch and the Flemings were again sacrificed by their selfish allies.

With the Pope for an enemy, the clergy doubtful in their allegiance, and a burthensome and inglorious war upon his hands³, Philip had now felt that something must be done to soothe the discontent of his heavily taxed subjects. He had therefore, at Midlent (March 1303), put forth an ordinance for the reform of the kingdom, pledging himself to do justice to all ; to protect those priests who were

² The count of Namur was with his brother at Courtray.

³ Besides the heavy exactions and the tampering with the coinage, he had forced all classes of persons to serve or to find substitutes.

loyal, and not to encroach on the judicial rights of his vassals; to check the corrupt practices of the royal judges⁴; and also to maintain the freemen of the towns in all their immunities. And during his stay in Languedoc, the following winter, he confirmed the customs and liberties of the southern corporations; nor did he call upon the inhabitants of the province for a subsidy without first enlarging their privileges, and fully recognizing their right to tax themselves.

In April 1303, when the Flemings were again in the field, the French attacked and dispersed a body of troops which threatened Tournay. But before the spring was over, the insurgents had gained an experienced general in *Philip of Rieti*⁵, the fifth son of their count by his first marriage; who had given up all the Italian fiefs which he had earned in the service of the Angevin kings of Naples, and had come home with his knights to fight for his own country. There were successful forays made into Artois, and likewise into Hainault and Holland, the territories of John d'Avesnes, from whom the younger Guy of Flanders also conquered Middleburg and most of Zealand⁶; and though they were surprised at Arques, and three thousand men slain, they burnt Terouenne, in July, after driving out, with much trouble, the well-disciplined Italian mercenaries who held it for France. These were besieged again in

⁴ Twice a year, for two months, the parliament was to be sitting at Paris, the exchequer was to be at Rouen, and the grand assizes (*les Grand Jours*) were to be held at Troyes; but after a year or two, all was transacted in Paris.

⁵ He had been made count of Rieti and Lanciano in Italy.

⁶ For some years, Guy styled himself count of Zealand, in virtue of a donation from his father; who, as sovereign of West Zealand, had claimed it as an escheat when John d'Avesnes took possession of it (see p. 128, note 5), denying the right of collaterals to inherit under the old Belgic and Germanic law.

Tournay, whither they had retreated in good order ; the French king therefore, who was at Péronne, gathering his forces together, thought it best to send the offer of a twelve-month's truce to the Flemings, even undertaking to set the old count, his captive, at liberty while it lasted. The terms were accepted, and hostages given ; so that count Guy returned to see his children and his people. The aged man was joyfully welcomed : but as he knew that he was almost at the brink of the grave, he did not strive, as Philip had hoped, to get a few more days of freedom by selfishly urging the conclusion of a bad peace ; and when his time was up, he went back to his prison. From Compiègne he was removed to Pontoise, where he ended his troubled life (Feb. 1305).

While the truce with France still continued, in March 1304, the count of Hainault landed in Zealand, on the island of Duyveland. His men were routed, the very next night, by the Zealanders, and his brother, the bishop of *Utrecht*¹, taken prisoner ; so that the Flemings were encouraged to overrun Holland, and he himself was also closely beset by them in Zieriksee, both by sea and land. The siege was raised, in August, by *Rainier Grimaldi*, a Genoese admiral in the service of France ; who, when his French ships had been put to flight, suddenly broke the enemy's line with the sixteen gallies which he had brought from Italy, doing dreadful havoc, and carrying away the younger Guy of Flanders as a captive. Not many days afterwards, another victory was won by Philip in person, over a large army, under Philip of Rieti, which was encamped at Mons en Puelle. Advancing from Tournay, where he had gathered his troops together, the king had forced the bridge over the Lys ; on which the Flemings

¹ *Guy of Hainault*, younger son of John d'Avesnes and Alice of Holland.

surrounded themselves with a double barricade of loaded waggons, keeping quite still, until near the evening, though much harassed by stones and arrows^a; they then rushed out in three divisions, one of which, led by William of Juliers, fell suddenly upon the royal tents, while Philip of Rieti and the count of Namur^b surprised and broke the cavalry of Charles of Valois and the count of St. Pol. Fifteen hundred Frenchmen had already been slain, when their sovereign, after narrowly escaping out of his tent with his life, got upon his horse and rallied his panic-stricken warriors; turning them against their assailants, who, in their turn, were driven off the field, leaving behind them ten thousand killed, and the whole of their baggage.

The success thus gained was followed up by the siege of Lisle, whither Philip of Rieti and a large body of the fugitives had betaken themselves. But in less than three weeks, the count of Namur came to his aid with a fresh host of sixty thousand well-armed men from Ghent, Bruges, and the other great towns; which so amazed and discouraged the French lords^c, that they told the king that he had better put an end to the war. He listened the more readily to their advice, as discontent was spreading among his people, and the harvest was bad: it was settled that there should be a truce, and negotiations for a peace were set on foot, in which all the old rights and liberties of Flanders were to be restored. Accordingly, in the treaty of Archies, signed in June 1305, Philip acknowledged Robert of Béthune, whose father was then dead, as count of Flanders; he also released him from prison, and his

^a The weather also was hot, and they were unable to get at the food and drink in their waggons.

^b With the count was his brother *Henry*, count of *Lods*.

^c Philip himself, when he saw this host, said that "it rained Flemings."

brothers William and Guy, and the captive nobles; and he promised to give his son *Lewis* possession of the counties of Nevers and R  thel². On the other hand, Lisle, Douay, and all that part of Flanders in which French was spoken, were to be yielded to him; and he was to have 200,000 pounds by instalments, to pay for the expenses of the war³.

During the winter, the dearth of food throughout the north of France had been made worse by ill-judged attempts to fix the price of corn: but the government, with a strong hand, kept down every outburst of discontent⁴. In the spring, April 1305, the queen died, and prince Lewis inherited her county of Champagne, and the kingdom of Navarre⁵. Later in the same year, the heaviness of the taxes, and the debasing of the coinage, gave rise to fresh disturbances; especially in the southern provinces, where there were bloody executions, and Carcassonne and Narbonne were deprived of the right of having consuls⁶. There was also some danger of another war with England. Not only were the goods of some French traders seized as reprisals, Philip having laid hands on the cloth which an English merchant was bringing over from Brabant for his sovereign, and bought it at his own

² In right of his mother, Violante of Nevers, and of his wife *Jane of R  thel*.

³ The treaty was eventually confirmed in Paris by Robert, with some modifications, in May 1309.—The Flemings had asserted that French Flanders was only given up as a pledge until its fulfilment.

⁴ At Paris, where a free-spoken scholar was hanged, the university professors at once suspended their lectures, and excommunicated the provost of the city. That official had to go to Rome for absolution.

⁵ He did not, however, take the title of king until he was crowned at Pampeluna, in July 1307.

⁶ At Carcassonne, the eight consuls, and several other persons, were hanged for a plot to betray the town to the Infant of Majorca, Sept. 1305.

price ; but when a papal legate sought to mediate between the two courts, Edward angrily called for the restoration of the castle of Mauléon, which indeed had been long delayed. These disputes were still unsettled at the time of that king's death, in July 1307. His weak successor, however, came to Boulogne, the following January, and did homage for the duchy of Aquitaine ; he also wedded Philip's daughter, the fair and false Isabella,—an ill-starred union, which in the end brought a curse both upon the bridegroom and on France.

On the very day in which the treaty with Flanders was signed, it had been the good fortune of Philip to have a creature of his own elected as Pope. Having had timely notice sent to him⁷ of a compromise by which the cardinals of his faction were, within forty days, to choose one of three archbishops named by their opponents, and that they were fain to take *Bertrand de Goth*, the archbishop of *Bordeaux*⁸ ; he invited that ambitious Gascon to a secret conference in a wood near the abbey of St. Jean d'Angely ; and when he had first got him to be reconciled to his brother Charles of Valois (with whom he was at feud), he showed him his despatches, and undertook to secure his election if he would pledge himself to six conditions. Although one of these was not yet told, and the rest were a disgraceful capitulation⁹, Bertrand readily agreed to them all : he swore on the holy sacrament to fulfil them, giving up his

⁷ By the secret management of the Cardinal de Prato.

⁸ He belonged to the family of the counts of Lomagne, and had been promoted to his archbishopric by Boniface VIII. himself.

⁹ Philip was to be fully reconciled with the Church ; his agents were all to have absolution ; he was to have tithes from the French clergy for five years ; the memory of Boniface, Bertrand's own patron, was to be judicially condemned ; and the Colonnas were to be reinstated as Cardinals. The sixth article was only to be told when the king should demand its fulfilment.

uncle and two nephews as hostages; and thus he became chief pontiff when the king's answer had reached his friends in the conclave, June 1305¹. He forthwith styled himself Clement V., and summoned the cardinals to Lyons, where he meant to be crowned with great magnificence, in the presence of several kings and great lords²; thither he also journeyed in much state, at the grievous cost of the churches and monasteries on his way. At Montpellier, he was treated with high respect by the king of Majorca³ and his grand-nephew James II. of Arragon; the latter of whom did him homage for Corsica and Sardinia.

The only sovereigns who were at Lyons when Clement was crowned in the church of St. Justus, Nov. 1305, were James of Majorca and the king of France; the latter of whom, as the procession was returning, held the bridle of the Pope's mule for a while, and then gave it up to his brothers, and to John II., duke of Britany. Shortly afterwards, a wall which was crowded with gazers fell down upon the Pope, and those who were about him; twelve persons being thus killed outright, Charles of Valois much hurt, and the duke of Britany mortally wounded. Clement himself had a narrow escape. He was thrown upon the ground, and his crown most ominously dropped from his head into the dirt⁴.

To the dismay of the Italians, the Pope set out for Bor-

¹ On the fifth day of the month, the thirty-fifth after the messenger had first left Perugia. He had reached Paris in eleven days.

² He sent an earnest invitation to his former liege lord, Edward I., of England; who, however, was not able to come.

³ The kingdom of Majorca had been restored to James, to be held as a fief to Arragon, Aug. 1298.

⁴ Some days afterwards, as he was dining in state, his servants quarrelled with those of the cardinals, and one of his brothers was killed by an unknown hand when trying to stop the affray.

deaux, the following February, and either would not or dared not leave France. His master had not yet done with him. Ten French cardinals had already been created, and almost all that was promised had been fulfilled⁵; but there was yet the hardest of the conditions—the condemnation of dead Boniface—to be carried out⁶. For another twelvemonth, a serious fit of illness gave Clement a plea for delay; and even when at last he had come to Poitiers, where a grand conference was to be held, he is said to have tried more than once to get away, feeling himself to be in Philip's clutches. That king entered the town, in June 1307, with his sons (Lewis, Philip, *Charles* and *Robert*⁷), with his brothers (Charles, count of Valois, and Lewis count of Evreux⁸), and with Robert, count of Flanders: there were also envoys from Charles the lame, of Naples, and from Edward I., of England, who was still living; and *James de Molay*, the grand master of the Temple, was called from Cyprus to join the meeting⁹. Thoroughly frightened at the situation

⁵ Just before he left Lyons, he put forth two bulls; one of which explained away the constitution "Unam Sanctam," while the other revoked the "Clericis Laicos."

⁶ The king wanted to have his bones taken out of his grave and burnt; to have him proved a heretic by Nogaret, who had got up seventy articles against him (Sept. 1304), and to have him declared a usurper, and his acts annulled. But Clement felt that the Papal authority would thus be shaken; and that the degrading of the cardinals created by Boniface would invalidate his own election.

⁷ Robert did not live many months after the conference.

⁸ He had just been created count of Evreux, in April. The marriage of young Philip of France with Jane of Franch-Comté and Artois had also taken place that year, in January.

⁹ Ostensibly to consult about a crusade. *Fulk de Villaret*, the grand master of the hospital, was also invited; but, luckily for himself, he did not come. When he afterwards did visit France, he soon saw good reason to hasten away, Sept. 1309, to undertake the conquest of Rhodes.

into which he had brought himself, the Pope, by the advice of the wily Cardinal *de Prato*, sought to gain time; so it was given out that only a general council could condemn a Pope, and the offer was made and accepted of convening one at Vienne. In the meanwhile, no opportunity of conciliating the French princes was lost. An interdict under which Pampeluna lay was taken off, when young Lewis, mistrusting the ambition of a viceroy, hastened with the constable, *Walter de Châtillon*, into Navarre, and was crowned as king; bulls were likewise issued for a crusade against the Greeks, which was to place Charles of Valois on the throne of the Eastern Empire¹; and in the month of August, with far more success, a definitive sentence was pronounced in favour of the claim of Charobert of Naples to the kingdom of Hungary. Nor was Charobert's grandfather forgotten. Of 360,000 ounces of gold, which Charles the lame owed to the Roman Church, one-third was to be remitted him, and the rest were to be appropriated to the new crusade²; and his son, the devout *Lewis*, bishop of *Thoulouse*, who had died about nine years before, was to be canonized³.

Of such a policy, the Templars were allowed to become the victims. Philip had been secretly calling for the condemnation of the whole order, and had raked up some horrible charges against it⁴; on the dawn of one and the same day,

¹ The year afterwards, when Albert of Austria had been assassinated, Clement openly recommended Charles of Valois to the German electors, at Philip's request, but secretly favoured the election of Henry of Luxemburg. This choice of a Low Country prince to be Emperor was a bitter pill to Philip.

² In addition to two-tenths, to be levied from the clergy of France already granted to Charles of Valois in January.

³ He was finally canonized by John XXII., April 1307. *Thoulouse* was then made an archbishopric.

⁴ A felon of Beziers, one *Squino de Florian*,—Villani calls him *Noffo Dei* of Florence,—had caused himself to be taken to the king,

he suddenly caused all the knights and their goods to be seized in the houses throughout France, the Grand Master himself being arrested at Paris by William de Nogaret, Oct. 1307. Threats, promises, hunger, torture even to death, wrung from many of these unhappy men a set of strange and contradictory confessions; and among the busiest in this hateful work was the king's confessor, the Dominican *William Humbert*, chief inquisitor of France. The Pope indeed, when he heard of it, indignantly suspended the powers of the inquisitors and ordinaries, that he might take the matter into his own hands; in the end, he thought it better worth his while to betray those whom he dared not save.

Philip, spurred on by hate and by interested zeal, on his side displayed unflagging energy. He had no rest until

to reveal a confession which a worthless knight, the Prior of *Mont-falcon*, was said to have made to him in prison when under the fear of death. The Templars were accused of denying God, spitting on the crucifix, worshipping a horrid idol called *Baffomet* (a name which is only a Provençal corruption for Mahomet); of kissing the Grand Master in a ludicrous and degrading manner, when initiated; of sodomy; and of betraying Christendom to the Infidels.

Of the numerous confessions in support of these charges, which have been likewise preserved, all were either made under torture or the fear of it; and nothing is more unlikely than that such abominations should have prevailed throughout a body of 15,000 knights of the noblest families of Europe, pre-eminent—as their unfortunate Grand Master could boast uncontradicted—for the splendour of their churches and worship, the liberality of their almsgiving, and the readiness with which they would shed their blood for the faith. The morality of individuals may often have been lax; and as the ill success of the Crusades was ascribed to the magical arts of the unbelievers, it is not altogether unlikely that some of the knights may have sought with unhallowed rites to counteract such an influence: they may even, “for the good of the Church,” have tried to propitiate the evil spirits by a temporary and insincere denial of Christ. This, however, is only an ingenious surmise, grounded upon no clear proof.

wherever his influence reached,—in England, in Britany, and in Provence,—the Templars were imprisoned⁵; and that he might win the voice of public opinion for his cause, favourable decrees were obtained from the university of Paris, and by the States General, convened at Tours (May 1308), the accused were declared to be worthy of death⁶. So well did he now work upon Clement, in a second conference at Poitiers, that the suspension was revoked, the Pope only reserving the Masters and Preceptors to be dealt with by himself, July 1308: other bulls also followed in a few weeks, which sequestrated the goods of the order, threatened with excommunication those who should harbour any of the knights, and named a day for the meeting of the promised council⁷. This done, Clement, as if to breathe more freely, withdrew to Bordeaux; the next year, March 1309, he took up his abode at Avignon, which thenceforth long continued to be the seat of the Papacy.

The spirit of the Templars was not yet broken. Many had died of grief and ill-usage, and some by their own hand: but there were souls among them which could not be shaken, and most of those who at first had been racked or frightened into confession had since retracted every word. Such firmness was only to be met by strong measures; it was therefore the cruel policy of Philip to treat all who recanted as relapsed heretics⁸. Even thus he could not

⁵ None of these seem to have been tortured or put to death; and nothing was proved against them.

⁶ In this subservient assembly, in which the Third Estate were a second time represented, the notorious William de Nogaret was proxy for the eight chief lords of Languedoc.

⁷ The princes, and in Germany the ecclesiastical electors, were to be the sequestrators.

⁸ The hint was perhaps given by the advice of the Theological Faculty of Paris, to abide by the rules laid down by the Roman

^h for cases of heresy and grievous crime.

stop their mouths. In vain, while the sufferers were slowly burning, one after the other, did he offer pardons to those who would acknowledge their guilt: they all died calling on Christ, the Virgin, and the saints, and protesting their innocence¹. The Grand Master himself, when brought before the Papal commissioners in the hall of the bishop of Paris (Nov. 1309¹), firmly declared that he would defend his order, although threatened to be dealt with as one who had lapsed, and told that as a heretic he was not to have counsel: he crossed himself twice, on hearing the depositions read which he was said to have made before three cardinals, crying out that if these had been persons to be defied, he should have had somewhat else to say². The same determination was displayed by seventy-four of the brotherhood. They named as their attornies, *Peter de Boulogne*, a priest and dignitary, and eight of their leading knights; affirming that all the charges were false, as no Templar out of France had confessed any thing.

¹ With the Pope's consent, Philip, in the year 1309, burnt fifty-six knights outside of Paris (Gi. Villani); thus getting rid of much troublesome evidence, and so frightening the survivors, that many, to save themselves, confessed whatever was asked of them. In May 1310, the council for the province of Sens, held at Paris, burned fifty-nine knights; soon after which, nine more were burnt at Senlis, whither the archbishop of Rheims had convened a council: those from whom no torture had ever wrung a confession, were imprisoned for life.—Out of France, it was very different. The councils of Mentz (May 1310), Salamanca (Oct. 1310), and Ravenna (June 1311) were for the acquittal of the knights.

¹ Before this commission, which first met in August and sat many months, all the Templars were cited. Its president was the supple archbishop of Narbonne.

² "Would God," he broke out, "it were with us as among the Turks and Saracens; who reward infamous liars by cutting off their heads!"

The prosecution of dead Boniface still dragged itself on; William de Nogaret and William du Plessis acting as principals, the French princes having left them to do the dirty work alone. Secrecy and safety had been pledged to the witnesses³; the cause had come on in March 1310; and a mass of strange evidence had been given, highly damaging to the memory of Boniface, if even a small part of it were true⁴: but the difficulty only became more strongly felt, that a condemnation would be the death-warrant of the Papacy, and that an acquittal would involve the honour of the French king. Seeing this,—or perhaps dreading the success which *Henry of Luxemburg*, the new emperor, had won in Italy,—Philip relented. Matters were then settled, April 1311, by a bull which declared that the king's intentions had been good, and that William de Nogaret had owned that he had never been bidden to seize Boniface; that the prosecution was to be left in the hands of Clement himself; and that all decrees and documents offensive to France, in the late quarrel, should be erased from the papal registers⁵.

In October 1311, the council of Vienne was opened by the Pope; who stated that it had met to deliberate upon the case of the Templars, the recovering of the Holy Land, and reforms in the discipline of the Church. But as he could not get it to condemn the knights unheard,

³ The kinsmen of Boniface, and even Clement himself, had been suspected of plotting an ambuscade for some of them, near Avignon.

⁴ Many of the witnesses were infamous, by their own showing; many, no doubt, were bribed; and the open denials of religion and the shameless avowals of immorality, which Boniface was stated to have made before Italian ambassadors and even to Roger de Loria when he came to crave absolution, were absurdly impossible.

⁵ Nogaret and fourteen others were still excepted from pardon. Absolution, however, was granted to him, if he would go to the Holy Land and for the rest of his life.

nothing further was done until the end of the winter, when the king of France came with his sons, to carry every thing with a high hand : the order was then suppressed by Clement in a secret consistory, March 1312, "of his plenary power, and not by a definitive sentence;" which arbitrary constitution was also published in April, at the second session of the council⁶. At the third and last session, in May, the tenth of the revenues of the clergy in France, Navarre, and England, was granted for six years to Philip and his son Lewis, and to Edward, his son-in-law ; these sovereigns having pledged themselves to undertake a crusade. Among the other acts of the council, was the acquittal of Boniface, for whom three learned cardinals had pleaded, and two zealous Catalan knights had offered to do battle ; he was pronounced to have been a true Catholic. The obnoxious enactments of the bull "*Clericis Laicos*" were also revoked.

The following year, on Whitsunday (June 1313), Philip held a grand festival at Paris, in which he knighted his three sons and many of the young French lords. All these, together with himself and the king of England and a gallant throng of nobles and knights, took the cross, three days afterwards : but beyond this display and a succession of splendid banquets, nothing whatever was done ; and thus the Holy Land was left to the infidels. The second of the king's sons, Philip the Long, had been created count of Poitiers⁷, about eighteen months before (Dec.

⁶ See also Vol. I., p. 79, note 5.—The estates of the Templars in the Spanish peninsula were not given, like the rest, to the Hospitalers ; but to other orders (as in Portugal, to the newly founded Order of Christ). The Pope gave command that knights who were acquitted by the provincial councils should have a provision ; *that those who confessed their guilt should be treated with indulgence* ; and that the impenitent and relapsed should be rigorously punished.

⁷ Charles of Anjou had claimed the county, on the death of his

1311); which was the occasion of an important precedent being established, as the newly erected peerage county was to revert to the crown on the failure of male heirs.

Robert of Naples, the successor of Charles the Lame, having been put under the ban of the Empire; Philip the Fair wrote to the Pope in behalf of his cousin. Excommunication was denounced upon all who should attack the fief of the Roman Church: but ere the decree had gone forth from Avignon, the Emperor Henry VII. had died suddenly in Italy, Aug. 1313, and there was nothing more to be feared from him. Another cloud of troubles, which had been gathering on the side of Flanders, did not pass away so readily. For Robert de Béthune still wanted to regain what he had ceded⁸; and now, when summoned to do homage for his county, the French district excluded, he had refused, actually proceeding, the next year, to lay siege to Lisle. The war, thus begun, was a heavy burthen upon Philip's disordered finances. He gathered together large armies, which he could not keep up; and when he tried to raise money by a *gabelle*, or excise duty, upon things sold⁹, the hateful tax at once caused outbreaks in Picardy and Champagne, and it was

brother Alfonso; but it was decided, in the reign of the late king, Nov. 1185, that apanages were to revert to the crown and not to be inherited by collaterals.

⁸ He still treated the cession of French Flanders as conditional; and though he had again confirmed it at Poitiers, June 1312, he accused the king's minister Enguerrand de Marigny of having deluded him by verbal explanations.—The fiefs of his son, the count of Nevers, had been confiscated. He had been arrested at Paris, whither he had been cited in the year 1309, and had broken out of prison.

⁹ It was granted by the deputies of the principal towns, and was paid both by the buyer and the seller. The inquisitorial system required to levy it, made it yet worse.

necessary to repeal it. As the only resource which was left, a truce for a twelvemonth was negotiated at Courtray, July 1314.

The harsh and suspicious nature of Philip had become worse as he advanced in life. He delighted in cruel punishments. Several women accused of being poisoners were either burnt or buried alive at Paris; and on a vague charge of having by sorcery and poison killed the late queen, *Guichard*, bishop of *Troyes*, was confined in a narrow dungeon where he lay in chains nearly six years. Nor were such the only victims. Even the rank, and age, and sufferings of the Grand Master of the Temple could not save him. Led with two other high officers of the order before a papal commission of cardinals and prelates at the threshold of the cathedral of Paris, to hear a sentence of perpetual imprisonment read, March 1314; James de Molay and the Commander of *Normandy*, *Guy of Auvergne*, had strongly denied all that they were said to have confessed, and had so staggered their judges that they remanded them until the next day. But as soon as he heard of it, Philip took the law into his own hands; declaring the accused to have relapsed, he had them burnt, that very evening, near the garden-wall of his palace¹. They died with great constancy, asserting their innocence with their last breath².

Hardly a month had passed after that dreadful scene, when fresh horrors were enacted. *Margaret of Burgundy*, daughter of the late duke Robert, and the two sisters Jane and *Blanche* of Burgundy and Artois,—the wives of the

¹ In the *île aux Juifs*, now joined to the *île de la Cité*.—The commander of *Normandy* was the son of *Robert III.*, dauphin of *Auvergne*.

² The Grand Master is likewise said to have summoned the Pope and Philip the Fair to appear before the throne of God; the one within forty days, and the other within a year and a day, by which time they were both dead.—The house of the Templars at Paris was afterwards the prison of the dethroned Lewis XVI.

king's three handsome sons, Lewis, Philip the Long, and Charles the Fair,—were all of them denounced as having been faithless to their husbands; and terrible indeed was the indignation of a tyrant, who the more keenly felt the dishonour to his house as his own morals were blameless, and even rigid. Two Norman gentlemen, who were brothers, *Philip* and *Walter de Launay*, being put to the rack at Pontoise, April 1314, had confessed that even in holy places they had carried on intrigues with Margaret and Blanche; so they were mutilated, flayed alive, and then hanged up by their armpits, bloody and writhing, till they died. Many persons, both men and women, charged with having abetted them or having known of their guilt, were also tortured and condemned to cruel deaths; some to be sewed up in sacks and drowned, others to be hanged or burnt. As for Margaret and Blanche, they were shorn like nuns, and shut up in a castle. More lucky was the countess Jane. Already had she been sent into a stronghold, when her husband took her part,—fearing, perhaps, to lose the county which he could only hold in her right,—and by the parliament of Paris she was fully acquitted².

The king was then on the brink of the grave. He died at Fontainebleau, Nov. 1314, in the forty-sixth year of his age; his weakened frame having never recovered from a fall which he met with as he was hunting, owing to a wild boar which ran between the legs of his horse.

A. D. 1314. *Lewis X., the Hutin.*

1315. De Marigny and the queen put to death.—Charters; the serfs emancipated.—Flanders invaded.

1316. Death of Lewis; Philip the Long regent.—Troubles in Artois.—Birth and death of John of France.

LEWIS X., the Hutin (the Disorderly), who, like his bro-

² On that occasion, the counts of Valois and Evreux, and other great lords, took their seats on the judicial bench.

there, was a gay libertine, had none of his father's strength of purpose. Indolent and careless⁴, he gave himself up to the guidance of his ambitious uncle, the count of Valois.

Under such management, he was easily led to wreak the vengeance of the nobles upon the men whom the late king had raised over their heads. The chancellor, *Peter de Latilly*, bishop of *Châlons on the Marne*, had the seals taken from him⁵; after which he was thrown into prison, and charged with having destroyed by witchcraft both his deceased master and the prelate whom he had succeeded⁶. The jurist *Rodolf de Presles* was arrested and tortured; and though nothing could be proved against him, and he was set free, his sequestrated goods, to which the courtiers had already helped themselves, were never restored to him. Still harder was the fate of the prime minister, the crafty and powerful *Enguerrand de Marigny*⁶. Foreseeing his danger, he had induced the king of England to write a friendly letter in his behalf: but unhappily for him, the spoils of a rich victim were wanted to fill the royal coffers, which were so empty that the coronation had been put off;—and he had mortally offended the count of Valois, to whom he once boldly gave the lie when taxed by him with falsehood. He was accused of speculation, and of having devised the recent exactions and unpopular financial measures; all his underlings in the treasury, and all whom he had employed in the public service, were also seized and thrust into dungeons, and many of

⁴ It is characteristic of him that his letters have neither his name nor his monogram subscribed. There is only his seal.

⁵ He brought his cause before the council of Senlis, Oct. 1315; and was finally acquitted, shortly after the king's death.

⁶ He had been originally a Norman gentleman. His brother *Philip* had risen with him, and become archbishop of *Sens*.

them stretched on the rack ; and when he begged to be heard in his defence, he could not get an audience. This was the work of Charles of Valois ; who, moreover, when his vacillating nephew would only have banished the fallen minister to Cyprus, brought a new charge against Enguerrand, of having tried by magical arts to cause the king, the king's brothers, and the king's uncles, slowly to pine away. The waxen images which were to be gradually melted before a fire, were said to have been made, at the instigation of Enguerrand's wife and sister, by one *James Delor*. Such a charge, in that age, was enough to ruin the most guiltless. The wretched magician, knowing what awaited him, hanged himself in prison ; his wife and servant, his accomplices, were burnt alive ; the wife and sister of Enguerrand were immured in a dungeon ; and Enguerrand himself—like another *La Brosse*—was condemned to be executed on the gallows at Montfaucon. He suffered on the Eve of the Ascension, April 1315⁷.

Not many days before, Lewis had ordered Margaret of Burgundy, his imprisoned queen, to be strangled ; that he might marry *Clementia* of *Hungary*, the sister of *Charobert* and the niece of Robert, king of Naples. He had to wait until August for his bride ; who was delayed on her way from Italy by a storm, losing besides, by an untoward shipwreck, her jewels and her much needed portion-money. The betrothed pair first met together, and were married, at Saint Lié, near Troyes ; after which they went on to Rheims, and were crowned there with but little pomp.

⁷ Remorse afterwards led the king to restore his memory, and to bequeath 10,000 livres to his children.—Even Charles of Valois, when trembling on his deathbed, bade one of his servants go with a purse through the streets of Paris, crying out to the poor who received his alms, "*Priez pour le seigneur Enguerrand et le seigneur Charles !*"

Both before and after his coronation,—especially in the spring, while he was staying at Vincennes,—Lewis was busily engaged in allaying the discontent which had shown itself among all classes. The outcries of the people against their burthens^a, and the petitions from the provinces, of the nobles who had banded together to recover their ancient rights, having thoroughly alarmed him, he granted a charter to the Normans^b; redressed the grievances of the lords of Burgundy, Champagne, and Picardy; confirmed, by three successive ordinances, the liberties of Languedoc; and also either enlarged or renewed the privileges of Auvergne, Britany, and the city and university of Paris. In the north of France, the feudal independence of the nobles was restored by his concessions, and the authority of the crown seemed to have lost all that it had gained since the days of St. Lewis: but the triumph of a decaying system could not last; and ere long, by the skill of the lawyers, the scale was easily made to turn on the side of prerogative.

The truce with Flanders was by this time at an end. When summoned to do homage in person, Robert III. had led forays into the country about Lisle and Tournay; so, in the month of June, though he had sent to excuse himself on the plea of ill health, and his sons the counts of Nevers and Namur had come to Paris and were well received, he was declared a rebel, and his envoys were driven away from court in disgrace^c.

^a There was a revolt of the peasants at Sens; but chiefly against the exactions of Philip de Marigny, their archbishop, and the excommunications by which these were enforced. It was cruelly punished.

^b In March 1315. It was confirmed and enlarged in a second charter, in July.

^c Strange to say, the count's two sons still remained at court, and shared in all the royal amusements.

To raise money for the war, the king, during the next month (July 1315), put forth a series of ordinances. The first of these—the glory of his reign—offered freedom to the serfs in the royal domains, on the payment of a fair composition; and called upon all other lords to follow his example². The second and third granted, with some restrictions, liberty of trade from henceforth to the Italians; taxing them highly for the indulgence³. And the fourth allowed the Jews to return for twelve years; and also to recover their old debts, of which the king was to have two-thirds given him for his own share.

In a manifesto also put forth in July,—some days before he went to fetch the Oriflamme at St. Denys,—Lewis denounced the Flemings as having incurred excommunication by breaking a treaty which had the papal sanction: threatening them with death, if captured within his king-

² It acknowledged the right of man to be born free; and expressed a wish that his kingdom, which was called the kingdom of the Franks, should be what its name implied.—Many freemen had formerly become slaves, to have bread in times of famine, or to get the protection of a powerful lord; others had been sold to pay fines laid upon them—especially the heavy *heribannum*—for not serving when the force of the kingdom was called out. In France and in Germany, villeins were distinguished from other serfs; being only subject to fixed and customary payments and services.

Lewis had hoped that the serfs had hidden hoards; and when he found that they did not readily come forward, he ordered that they should be made to buy their freedom for whatever they could afford. Three years afterwards, Philip the Long had to renew the edict of enfranchisement; and even down to the time of the Revolution, there still remained traces of predial servitude in France.

³ The Italians were to pay, for ten years, five per cent. on their capital. They were also, by the later ordinance, subjected to a tax of two pence (*deniers*) in the pound on all bargains; and, except at fairs, were only to trade at Paris, St. Omers, Nismes, and Rochelle.

dom; and with slavery for life, if taken prisoners elsewhere⁴. In the middle of August, there being nothing more to delay him, he set out to join the large army on the Lys, which he had gathered together; and while his staunch ally the count of Hainault burst into East Flanders on the side of Rupelmonde, he pushed on to Courtray, and invested it. Eager, however, as he had been for the war, he reaped no glory from it; owing to that ill luck which so often cleaves to men who are wanting in practical vigour. Although the spring had been wet⁵, the rains now fell in such floods that the ground was soaked; the waggons which brought food and supplies, stuck fast in the mud, and could not reach the camp; and in damp and unwholesome tents, the soldiers became wretched and sickly. Lewis had to burn his baggage, break up his camp, and disband his army. When he was gone, the Flemings and their count advanced into French Flanders, and menaced Artois; but in a short time, they also, in their turn, retreated.

The winter proved to be a dreadful one. The burthens of an unhappy war had been aggravated by a bad harvest, which was followed by the horrors of famine and pestilence; in fact, we are even told that in Northern France, and in the Netherlands and in Germany, upon which countries the scourge had likewise fallen, nearly one-third of the people were swept away. In the midst of all these troubles, the nobles, blinded by their selfishness, had already begun to abuse their recovered rights of private

⁴ He also got the Flemish traders expelled from England; which he was enabled to do by the treaty made in the late reign.

⁵ From April to July, the cold rains had been so incessant, that processions were made every where, in the summer, to pray for fair weather. These were headed by the priests, with relics, followed by crowds of women bare-legged and of men all naked!

warfare and of coinage; Charles of Valois himself set the example as a striker of base money. It was necessary to clip the wings of such birds of prey: the growing influence of the towns made itself heard, and the king was loudly called upon to take the first great step towards regaining what he so lately had been forced to give up. In November 1315, he decried all the money which had been struck by the barons, limiting its circulation to their own territories; and two months afterwards, he fixed the standard of the royal mint, and settled by it the relative value of whatever had been coined elsewhere ⁶.

The Papal see being still vacant, and the conclave having broken up in confusion, the count of Poitiers, Philip the Long, was now sent to Lyons, to gather together the dispersed cardinals, and to bring them to some agreement. Six months had the count been thus engaged, when the tidings reached him that the king, his brother, who was not yet twenty-seven years old, had died at Vincennes, June 5th, 1316 ⁷. Lewis, when overheated by playing at tennis, had rashly gone down into a chill cellar, to refresh himself with new wine, of which he drank without stint: the cold struck into his bowels; he was carried to his bed in a high fever and pleurisy; and in a few hours, he was a corpse.

The first care of Philip the Long was to cause the cardinals to be strictly shut up and well guarded ⁸; a plan

⁶ The mark of silver was estimated at 54 sols; and thirteen kinds of coin, from the mints of thirty-one bishops and great barons, had their values defined.

⁷ According to Vaissète, he died on the 8th.

⁸ He thus—"for the good of the Church"—broke the oaths which he had sworn to the cardinals.

which, in a few weeks, brought on the election of Pope *John XXII*. Having done this on the twenty-eighth of June, he set out for Paris, which he reached on the twelfth of July. His object was to seize upon the regency, if not the crown itself.

The opening which had dawned upon his ambition, was the hope that no son would be born to his deceased brother ; who as yet had only left a daughter, named *Jane*, the motherless child of the unhappy Margaret of Burgundy. In that case, which was the very first of its kind, a female of somewhat doubtful legitimacy⁹ stood next in succession to the throne. A new constitutional principle was now therefore to be established, so as to cut off such a claim : it was to be ruled, by a strained interpretation of the law for the division of Salic land¹, that a female could not inherit the crown of France².

Philip was already in possession of the royal palace, at Paris, when the widowed queen, who had found a champion in Charles of Valois, formally declared herself to be with child by her late lord. A meeting of barons was at once held, which decided that Philip, count of Poitiers, should have the regency until the birth took place ; and that he should keep it for twenty-four years more, if a boy were born : should the child prove to be a daughter, then

⁹ Lewis had thought it necessary to acknowledge her to be his own daughter.

¹ The Salic Law, eluded as early as the seventh century, only applied to Alodial land ; which was to be divided equally among all the children, except the part called Salic, which was to be shared by the sons alone.

² Whatever may have been the practice of the earlier Franks, in whose history there is no instance of a sole heiress, the laws and customs of the age were against the Salic rule of succession. All the kingdoms of Europe, and all the great fiefs of France, were heritable by females.

they were all to acknowledge the count as king. But the maternal uncle of the princess Jane, *Eudes IV.*, the new duke of *Burgundy*³, who was also at Paris, would not do homage to Philip as regent; thus threatening to raise a civil war in behalf of his niece. To stave off the danger, a new convention was drawn up at Vincennes, on the 17th of July, between Philip and the duke; it was then agreed that, should the queen have a daughter, the female issue of the late king were to inherit Navarre and Champagne and Brie, on giving up all claim to the kingdom of France. That renunciation was to be made by each princess, when she was of age to marry; and if either of them should refuse, Philip was to be no longer bound to the release of Navarre and Champagne, and the princesses would return to their right—such as they might have and ought to have—to the whole succession of their father. Moreover, Jane was to be placed in the keeping of her mother's family⁴; but she was not to be married without the regent's consent. And it was further stipulated that until the princesses were grown up, Philip was to hold the government of the kingdoms of France and Navarre, and of the counties of Champagne and Brie, receiving also the homage of the vassals therein; "saving always the right of the heir male," (whose existence would annul the treaty,) "and saving the right of the daughters, whatever that might be."

Strangely enough, almost the first thing that Philip did as regent, was to uphold, in behalf of his mother-in-law, the right of female succession. *Maud of Artois*, the coun-

³ He had succeeded his brother Hugh V., in May 1315.

⁴ She was to be under the care of her grandmother, Agnes of France, the dowager duchess.—The treaty, in fact, was a compromise by which the house of Burgundy got the heiress Jane into their hands, and Philip secured that possession of the government which he had in time to convert into indefeasible right.

tess of *Burgundy*, on the death of her father, the count of Artois, at Courtray, had taken and kept his fief; having set aside her nephew *Robert*⁵, the male heir, on the ground that representation was not the custom of Artois. Young Robert, who had since been created count of Beaumont, was unwilling to forego his claim, notwithstanding that Philip the Fair and the peers of France had decided against it⁶; and now that every thing was in confusion, he put himself at the head of the malcontents in Artois, and fell suddenly upon Walter de Châtillon, the constable; who had been sent thither to support the countess. Philip, therefore, finding that Arras itself and other places had been seized; and that the count would not appear before the parliament of Paris, when cited; mustered an army of crown vassals at Amiens, and took the field, just at the end of October, bringing the Oriflamme from St. Denys. But instead of fighting, there was a compromise: for his foes were daunted, and he himself wanted to be at Paris. The question in dispute was to be submitted to a fresh decision⁷; and while it was pending, Artois was to be held in trust by the counts of Valois and Evreux, and Robert of Beaumont was to stay in Paris, in the prison.—He was released the next year, having accepted a compensation

⁵ Robert was the son of Maud's brother Philip, count of Conches, who had fallen at Furnes; and his mother was *Blanche*, the daughter of John II., duke of Britany.—Philip the Fair, to console him for the loss of Artois, had created him count of Beaumont-le-Roger.

⁶ In the year 1309; the countess Maud herself sitting among the peers.—This judgment, as Artois was both a peerage and an apanage, formed a precedent for destroying all distinction between the then male and female fiefs, to the great advantage of the crown in its matrimonial alliances.

⁷ Arbitrators were to be named; and if these could not agree, the matter was again to be brought before the peers of France for decision.

offered by Philip, and the hand of *Jane*, one of the daughters of Charles of Valois ².

Hardly had Philip returned to Paris, when the afflicted queen, who also for weeks had been suffering from quartan fever, gave birth to a son, Nov. 15th, 1316. The sickly babe, which was baptized by the name of *John*, never reigned ³: it lingered four days in this world, and then died ¹.

A.D. 1317. *Philip V., the Long.*

1318. The alienations revoked.

1320. Peace with Flanders. Italian expedition.—Outbreak of the Pastoureaux.

1321. The lepers and Jews persecuted.

1322. Death of Philip the Long.

PHILIP V., the Long (or the Tall), being already master of the kingdom when his nephew died, no longer cared for the conditional treaty which had now become absolute: but in spite of the protest of the duke of Burgundy, and the disapproval of his own brother Charles the Fair ², he summoned the peers to Rheims; and while the gates of the town were shut and guarded, he was crowned king by the archbishop, on the Sunday after Epiphany, Jan. 9th, 1317. And at Paris, on Candlemas day, the States General—or rather, an assembly of prelates and barons, chiefly

² By Catherine of Courtenay, his second wife.

³ Contemporary writers do not call him king, as he was never crowned.

¹ The bereaved mother took the veil, not quite two years afterwards, in a Dominican convent at Aix.

² Eudes IV., who had been joined in his protest by his mother Agnes, called upon Peter of Courtenay, the archbishop, not to crown Philip. Charles the Fair would not be present at the coronation; and the counts of Valois and Evreux came with an ill grace.—Mandeville held the crown over the king's head among the other peers, some were indignant.

from the northern provinces, together with some of the citizens—acknowledged him as their lawful sovereign; also declaring that a woman could not succeed to the crown of France³.

From the very first, the new king had been recognized by Edward II. of England, his brother-in-law, and by the clever and crafty Pope⁴; the latter of whom likewise did his utmost to soothe the discontent which had been displayed by the princes of the blood. This was the more easily done, owing to the death, as early as the middle of February, of Philip's only son *Lewis*⁵; which at once opened to Charles the Fair, shortly afterwards count of Marche⁶, a hope of succeeding to the throne by the Salic Law; and by making the king's eldest daughter Jane the presumptive heiress of two counties in her mother's right⁷, gave the means of tempting Eudes of Burgundy, by the offer of a brilliant marriage, shamefully to forsake the cause of his niece. It was at length agreed—in March 1318—that a pension should be settled on the orphan princess thus betrayed, in lieu of her unquestionable claim to inherit Navarre, Champagne, and Brie⁸; besides which,

³ The University, when called upon, gave the like opinion; but refused to swear to it.

⁴ His first letter to Philip is highly curious. He lectures the king as if he were a child: telling him not to talk at mass; to wear a long habit, like his predecessors; not to spend his Sundays in bathing and dressing, as was the fashion; and to read important letters himself, and either to burn them or put them by carefully.

⁵ This young prince was only about a year old.

⁶ He received, in March, the investiture of the county assigned him, as his apanage, by his father's will.

⁷ The recent death of the queen's only brother Robert, in 1315, had left her in undisputed possession of the county of Burgundy, and the heiress of Maud in that of Artois.

⁸ Jane was to have 15,000 livres a year, to be fixed as a rent

to conciliate Lewis of Evreux, whose fief had already been erected into a peerage⁹, the poor child's hand was to be bestowed upon that count's eldest son *Philip*. The two weddings, notwithstanding the extreme youth of one of the brides¹, were duly solemnized, the following June; the wife of Eudes bringing him a magnificent dower of 100,000 livres².

That same year, July 1318, Philip the Long, by the ordinance of Pontoise, revoked all the grants of his father and brother; thus—at the expense, among others, of the heirs of Flotte, Nogaret, and Du Plessis—laying down the new principle that the domain was inalienable. Like Philip the Fair, he sought to strengthen himself against the princes of the blood, the nobles, and even the clergy, by enlisting on his side the Third Estate and the lawyers. Fond of the business of ruling, he put forth a number of edicts during his short reign, some of which were clumsy

charge on the county of Angoulême; and if Philip the Long should leave no son, the surrendered possessions of the house of Champagne were to return to her. These, however, were not restored by Charles IV., the next king: but by a new treaty, in 1325, 20,000 livres were added to the rent charge. Navarre was recovered by her husband Philip, in 1328, during the interregnum in which Philip of Valois was regent; and he was allowed to retain it by the treaty at Villeneuve near Avignon, March 1336,—afterwards ratified by Jane herself,—in which he renounced for ever all claim to the counties of Champagne and Brie.

⁹ Jan. 1317.—Lewis, who had originally had the county in lieu of a rent charge of 15,000 livres bequeathed him by his father, died in March 1319. The county, together with other lordships, was eventually given up to the crown by his great grandson CHARLES III. of Navarre, in exchange for lands to be held as the peerage duchy of Nemours, June 1404.

¹ Jane of Navarre, born in January 1311, was not much more than seven years old.

² He had formerly been affianced to his deceased brother V.

remedies for his want of firmness³. Twice, when established on the throne, did he also call together the States General: at Candlemas 1319, and in June 1321 (at Poitiers); in both cases, to redress crying grievances⁴.

The truce with Flanders had been prolonged until Easter 1319; the pressure of the times being heavily felt by the enemy themselves. The communities in their towns were for a safe peace: but Lewis of Nevers, whose fiefs had been confiscated⁵, and his headstrong father count Robert wanted to renew the war; and the latter would have attacked Lisle, as soon as the truce was over, had not the people of Ghent forced him to hearken to the papal legate, and bind himself to come to Paris and conclude a treaty. Thither he came indeed with Lewis and the delegates of the communities, April 1320; yet, after doing homage to the king, he still demanded the restoration of the ceded towns. Philip swore, on the soul of his father, that the count should never bear rule in any of these; an oath confirmed by those of the king's brother Charles the Fair, of his uncle the count of Valois, and of his cousin Philip, now count of Evreux: which union of the princes

³ In November 1318, he ordered himself to hear mass every morning; his attendants being forbidden to talk to him. In June 1320, he commanded that he should no longer, by his lavish grants of money and oak-planks, anticipate the whole of his yearly income from the royal forests!

⁴ The former of these gave rise to an ordinance in which he promised to try and abate the gabelle of salt, and not to incorporate it with the domain; *not to raise forced loans*; and not to take the horses and carts of the peasants, except for his own personal service.

⁵ He had opposed the king's accession, and had refused to appear before the parliament; but on his doing homage, Sept. 1317, his fiefs had been restored to him. Being cited again, the next year; for his vassals appealed against his exactions, and he was thought to have stirred up his father to rebellion; he fled to Flanders, and again suffered forfeiture.

so frightened the old man, that he fled away in the night, fearing that he should be arrested, notwithstanding his safe conduct. The delegates at once sent to fetch him back, telling him that they could not act without him, and that they dared not go home if nothing was done⁶; on which, feeling that all further struggle was hopeless, he returned to Paris and finally consented to the loss of French Flanders, signing the treaty in the beginning of May. It was also settled that his grandchild *Lewis of Cressy*—the only son of the count of Nevers, whose lands were now to be restored—should marry *Margaret of France*, 'the king's second daughter'⁷; and that the lad, then about sixteen, should eventually succeed, not only to Nevers and Rhétel, but also to Flanders, even though his father should not live to inherit it⁸. The contract was signed in June, later in which month Philip had a visit from Edward of England, who did homage to him at Amiens; and in July, the wedding took place⁹.

Not very long after the peace had thus been concluded, count Robert, whose temper had ever been fierce and suspicious¹⁰, threw Lewis of Nevers into prison, on a charge of having tried to poison him. The accusation broke

⁶ For they "were sure that no heads would be left them to put into their hoods."

⁷ The counts of Valois and Evreux had each wished to have young Lewis for one of their daughters.

⁸ The old count's second son, Robert, was induced, by a grant of the lands of Cassel, to agree to the clause which established the right of representation in Flanders.

⁹ The count of Nevers had been very loth indeed to give his consent.

¹⁰ He is said to have strangled with a horse bridle his second wife Violante of Burgundy, the heiress of Nevers, June 1280; having suspected her of poisoning her stepson *Charles*, the child of his firstriage.

down for want of proof, although the supposed accomplices, the defendant's father confessor and his servants, were put to the torture; yet Lewis was not set free: it was even designed that his younger brother, *Robert of Cassel*, should supplant him¹. The citizens of Bruges, however, stood forth as the champions of the rightful heir, and the king of France likewise befriended him; so that there would have been a civil war, had not the magistrates of Ghent and Ypres stepped in, and, with much trouble, prevailed upon count Robert to release his son, Feb. 1322. As Lewis was to keep away from Flanders while his father lived, he withdrew to Paris; and there he died in July, that same year.

The influence of Pope John XXII.², who did much what he liked in France, had given fresh activity to the Inquisition in Languedoc. Not only were heretics and wizards imprisoned, and burnt; but also the harmless enthusiasts against whom he was waging a deadly war—the Beghards and Beguines³, and the rigid Franciscans

¹ In fact, the accusation was thought to be a plot to get Lewis disinherited.

² He created many new sees in the southern provinces, and could use the civil power for his own ends. Thus, in July 1318, he procured the execution of *Hugh Gerald*, bishop of Cahors, whom he had deposed, some time before, for magical arts against his life. The wretched prelate was partially flayed, and then burnt alive.

³ In the Netherlands, in the eleventh century, *Béguines*—"sisters of prayer;" from *beggen*, to pray—were already living together for purposes of devotion, but without any vows, in houses called *béguinages*. These societies rapidly increased; and in the thirteenth century, communities of men were also formed on the same plan, bearing the names of *Béguins* and *Beghards*. Looked upon with jealousy by the Church, they thought it prudent to adopt the rules of the Tertiary Franciscans; and as they imbibed many of the notions of the Spirituals, these persecuted friars fraternised with them, and Beguin became another term for Heretic.

Some of the more orthodox Beghards and Beguines were protected

called Fraticelli or Spirituals. At Marseilles, Narbonne (where the fires were thrice lighted), Beziers, Lunel, and other places, numbers of them, women as well as men, perished at the stake. By him likewise, and by Robert of Naples, the king was allured to send an expedition against the Ghibelin chieftains in Lombardy; which was led by *Philip of Valois*, the count of Valois' eldest son, and readily undertaken by the gallant warriors of France, many of whom indeed thirsted for the booty as well as for the glory thus to be won. The hopes which had been raised, were not realized. When Philip of Valois had joined, at Asti, Aug. 1320, the cardinal legate *Bertrand de Poiet*⁴, who had a large body of cavalry with him; instead of waiting for the troops which were coming from Vienne⁵ and Languedoc, or for the Guelf allies from Florence and Bologna, he pushed on to Mortara, through a country intersected by canals and rivers; and there he found himself entangled in the meshes of his skilful opponents, *Galeazzo* and *Marco Visconti*. Luckily for the French, their Italian conquerors⁶ thought it politic to allow them to return home unscathed.

by the Pope, and fresh associations were allowed to be formed. About the year 1300, there arose in the Netherlands, and in Northern Germany, the *Alexiani*, also called *Lollards* (from *lullen*, to sing softly), a word which came to mean Heretic and was thus applied to the English Wickliffites; and in 1384, an association of clergy was organized by *Gerhard Groot*, a priest of Deventer, under the direction of which college there were established, in the same countries, Frater-Houses, in which priests and laymen lived and worked together, and Sisterhoods of devout women which were ruled by "Marthas."—To this day, Beguines are numerous in Belgium, where they are invaluable nurses of the sick.

⁴ This able statesman and warrior was said to be the Pope's own son.

⁵ The youthful dauphin of Vienne, Guy VIII., had for some time been engaged to *Isabella*, the French king's third daughter.

⁶ Galeazzo had formerly been knighted by Charles of Valois.

As in the days of St. Lewis, the peace of the kingdom had now been troubled by a rising of the shepherds or "pastoureaux;" who had gathered in crowds, to follow a priest and a monk by whom it was prophesied that the poor in spirit were to recover Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre. The alms on which at first they lived not being enough for them, they were driven by hunger to help themselves to food; and as many of them were seized and hanged, they were maddened by despair, and became like hunted wild beasts. In large bands, they entered Paris and forced the Châtelet and other prisons, to rescue some comrades; after which, they marched down unmolested through Aquitaine into Languedoc, where, by Midsummer 1320, forty thousand fanatics were roving about in armed troops, robbing and slaying the Jews⁷. The Pope, trembling in Avignon at their approach, had excommunicated all who should undertake a crusade not yet decreed by the Church; and had summoned the royal seneschal of *Beaucaire* to his aid. Yet the stream of pilgrims still flowed on towards Aigues Mortes, the place of embarkation for Palestine, and had nearly reached the town, when it was stopped by the seneschal of *Carcassonne*; who hemmed in the crowd in the marshy plain, blocking up the roads, cutting off all supplies, and hanging up every straggler from the main body. Famine and fever soon did their work among the mass thus pent in: most of it rotted away, and only a remnant escaped, leaving the trees and the gibbets laden with the corpses of unsuccessful fugitives.

⁷ Five hundred of these having taken refuge in a high tower, in the royal castle of Verdun on the Garonne, their infuriated foes set the lower stories on fire; on which, the wretched Jews killed one another in despair, after throwing out their children in the vain hope that the lives of these innocents might be spared.

The blind rage of the rabble against Jews and magicians was rekindled, in August, by John XXII. ; the bishops in the south of France being bidden to burn all the copies of the Talmud, and the inquisitors at Carcassonne enjoined to track out sorcerers with redoubled zeal. The seeds of superstition, thus sown, grew up quick and rank. As early as in January 1321, when the king was holding the States General at Poitiers, the lepers^a were accused of poisoning all the wells in Aquitaine : it was even said that there was a plot to spread leprosy and death throughout Christendom ; and that four great councils had lately met, to which almost every lazaret-house in Europe had sent delegates. While under the rack, some of the wretched creatures confessed that they had been set on by the Jews ; who were believed to be the mischievous agents of the infidel king of Grenada, and to have cunningly gained over the lepers by bribes of money, and by giving them hopes of sharing the kingdoms of the world^b. Such was the panic which then arose, that, from one end of France to the other, every person was arrested upon whose skin there was any thing which looked like leprosy ; and even the officers of the lower jurisdictions took upon themselves to torture and to burn, with fiendlike cruelty. At first, the king tried to keep the harvest of fees and forfeitures for himself and his own courts, on the plea that the crimes

^a The leprosy which the crusaders had brought from the Levant, had become endemic, owing to the want of cleanliness ; and *maladeries* and *lazarettos* had been built for lepers, at the gates of almost all the towns.

^b The poison which they taught the lepers to use,—human blood, urine, three unknown herbs, and a consecrated host, all reduced to powder,—was put into little pouches, which were tied to stones and sunk. One of these, said to have been thrown into a stream by a leprous woman, contained the head of a viper, the feet of a toad, the hair of a woman, and a black, stinking liquid !

were of a treasonable kind; but as his fears grew greater, he allowed all judges to execute the lepers within their districts, Aug. 1321, "that the land might be cleansed the more speedily." Another edict, somewhat later, which was meant to be merciful, ordered such as were found guiltless to be only shut up in lazar houses for the rest of their days. Nor did Philip spare the Jews. These helpless victims of tyranny were banished, or imprisoned, or put to death; the king, in every case, being enriched by their spoils. At the royal castle of Chinon, near Tours, there was a large trench dug, in which a pile was lighted, and a hundred and sixty men, women, and children, were burnt alive.

Still wanting more money, Philip was about to double the imposts which already weighed heavily on the poor, when, in the beginning of August, he was attacked by quartan ague and dysentery; a visitation which so far touched his conscience, that he ordered part of the taxes to be suspended during his illness. After lingering five months, he died at Longchamp, Jan. 1322, in the twenty-ninth year of his age¹.

A. D. 1322. *Charles IV.* Queen Blanche divorced.

1323. Jourdain de Lisle executed.

1324. Guienne invaded. Conference of Bar.

1325. Peace with England. Defeat of the Savoyards.—Death of Charles of Valois.

1326. War of the Bastards. The count of Flanders restored.

1327. Isabel of France deposes Edward, her husband.

1328. Death of Charles IV. Philip of Valois regent.

CHARLES IV., *the Fair*, at once took possession of his

¹ In this reign, in the year 1320, *Henry Tapperel*, provost of the Châtelet, was executed. He had been bribed to dress a poor prisoner in the clothes of a rich murderer, to be hanged in his stead!

brother's kingdoms, and also of his apanage². Having lost his only son, he got himself divorced from his imprisoned wife Blanche³; and in the month of September, he married his second cousin *Mary of Luxemburg*⁴, the daughter of the late Emperor Henry VII., and the sister of *John*, king of *Bohemia*. This new wife dying of a miscarriage, March 1324, as she was returning with him from a royal progress through the southern provinces⁵; he very soon became the husband of another kinswoman, his first cousin *Jane of Evreux*, July 1324.

On coming to the throne, he had revoked most of the grants of his predecessors; and to fill his coffers still more, he had ordered all the officers of the crown to have their commissions sealed anew, and had called in the coinage that he might gain something by lowering its standard. He also obtained the tithe of the income of the French clergy for four years, and other papal indulgences; having undertaken to help the Christians of Cyprus and Armenia against the Moslems. This crusade was quickly given up, although he had begun to raise a small army in Languedoc, to be commanded by Amalric II., viscount of Narbonne, whom he had just released from prison (Feb. 1323)⁶.

² See above, p. 364.—Philip's eldest daughter, the duchess of Burgundy, claimed the county of Poitiers and some property in Champagne; but in a few days, the parliament decided against her.

³ In May 1322. It was pretended that her mother, Maud of Artois, was also the king's godmother.

⁴ Mary's mother, *Margaret of Brabant*, was the niece of Mary of Brabant, Charles' grandmother.

⁵ When they were at Thoulouse, seven troubadour citizens invited all the poets of Languedoc to compete, on the first of May, for a prize in sacred poetry; the winner to have a golden violet, and the title of "doctor of the gay science." This was the origin of the Floral Games.

⁶ This worthy had been sent to the Châtelet for having hanged

In May 1323, *Jourdain de Lisle*, lord of *Casaubon*, a powerful southern baron whose sister had married the Pope's nephew, was dragged at a horse's tail and hanged. Already forgiven eighteen capital crimes, he had been cited before the parliament of Paris on charges of robbery, rape, and murder; and when brought to the bar of the court after killing the usher who had summoned him, he was attended by a throng of nobles, and all the influence of John XXII. was put forth in his behalf. Owing to that pope, there were many burnings in this reign; some for witchcraft, and some for the belief, held by the *Fratricelli*, that Christ himself—like St. Francis—had vowed the strictest poverty.

Urged, it would seem, by his brother-in-law the king of Bohemia¹, Charles, at one time, had thoughts of getting for himself the disputed crown of Germany. His ally the Pope excommunicated the Emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, whose cause had lately triumphed at Muhldorf, where *Frederic*, duke of *Austria*, the rival claimant, was taken prisoner; and John of Bohemia undertook to pave the way for a new election, by bringing his uncle *Baldwin* of *Luxemburg*, archbishop of *Treves*, and other prelates and princes, to a conference which was to be held at Bar on the Aube. Thither came Charles in great state, July 1324, and found no one to meet him, but *Leopold* of *Austria*, *Frederic*'s brother: for so little did the Germans like to put on the French yoke at the papal bidding, that the Bohemian king himself felt ashamed of the part which

one of his vassals and drowned another, notwithstanding that they had appealed to the king.

¹ That restless and fickle prince had always a leaning to France. His son Wenceslaus, better known as the Emperor Charles IV., had his name changed in honour of the French king, and eventually married *Blanche* of *Valois*, the sister of Philip VI. (A.D. 1333); and his daughter Bona (*Gutie*) was married to John II.

he had played, and had returned to his former allegiance to Lewis. Leopold engaged himself heart and soul in the cause of France⁸, and, with the aid of its money, gave the Emperor much trouble: but the latter had the wisdom to set his captive free, without asking either hostage or ransom, March 1325; and by other great concessions he saved his country from being ruined by foreign intrigue. The death of the warlike and vindictive Leopold, who was carried off by a burning fever, Feb. 1326, left the French king nothing more to hope.

Charles had better success in keeping up the weakened rule of France in Flanders. When, after the death of Robert III. (Sept. 1322), young Lewis of Cressy had hastened thither, and with the help of the communities and of his great uncle the marquis of Namur, had baffled the opposition of Robert of Cassel and his other foes⁹; the king threw the new count into prison, on his return to court, for having dared to take possession of a contested fief without waiting to receive the investiture from him. There was no wish, however, to provoke another Flemish war; so the delinquent was forgiven, a few days afterwards, and was declared by the parliament to be the lawful count of Flanders and also of Nevers, Jan. 1323. The next year, at Midlent, Charles mediated a treaty between him and *William the Good*, count of *Hainault* and *Holland*; and thus ended for ever the feud about the sovereignty of Zealand, which had lasted nearly four centuries, and was of late embittered by the enmity of the

⁸ He promised that his brother should abdicate, when liberated; in return for which, he himself was now helped with money, and was afterwards to be vicar of the Empire.

⁹ One of his aunts—*Mathilda*, the wife of *Matthew*, lord of *Florian*, son of Theobald II., duke of Lorrain—had put in her claim, on the plea that Robert of Cassel's right had been lost by renunciation.

rival houses of Dampierre and D'Avesnes¹. Nor was it long before the troubles in Flanders, which were brought on by the foolish tyranny of Lewis, opened fresh pretexts for the royal interference; fastening again the yoke which had been well-nigh shaken off.

For Lewis I. of Flanders, bred up in French ways, guided by bad advisers², prodigal and rapacious, reckless of the interests and privileges of traders whom he scorned, and bestowing all his favour upon insolent nobles, had quickly begun to lose the love of his ill-requited people. He gave deep offence to the citizens of Bruges by granting one of the main thoroughfares of their traffic, the port of the canal at Sluys, to the marquis of Namur; and was forced to march with them when they drove his uncle into Sluys, and took him prisoner there (A.D. 1322)³. Jealous of Robert of Cassel, he tried to have him murdered; but the design was betrayed by his secretary, and only made him more hated. The contribution also which was owed to France, was made a plea for extorting such large sums of money, that the Flemings lost all patience, and a civil war broke out. The rebellion thus kindled, had at length, after many months, just begun to be got under, when it blazed up afresh at Courtray, June 1325; Lewis having

¹ See p. 351, note 6.—William the Good, who, in 1310, had been forced to become a vassal to Flanders for West Zealand, was now released from his homage; but was made to renew his renunciation of all claim to the county of Alost. He had married *Jane*, the daughter of Charles of Valois.

² One of these was the abbot of *Vézelay*, his vassal in Nevers; who, being the son of Peter Flotte, hated the Flemings.

³ The next year, Aug. 1323, the men of Bruges burnt Sluys, though the town had always belonged to the marquis. About Michaelmas, John of Namur managed to break out of prison; on which they sent to count Lewis, who was returning from France (whither he had gone to complain to the king of their behaviour), and bought a pardon with 60,000 crowns.

seized six delegates from Bruges⁴, and burnt the houses outside the walls, to defend himself against five thousand of their fellow citizens who then were coming to attack him. As it so happened that the fire spread from the suburb into the town itself, which speedily became a heap of ashes; a crowd of houseless men and women rushed furiously upon the doers of the mischief, slew several knights and soldiers, and laid hold of Lewis and dragged him away into confinement. Twenty-seven of his followers, some of them nobles, were afterwards tried as incendiaries, and executed before his eyes: he was handed over to the keeping of the men of Bruges, and led thither like a felon, on a sorry nag, bound and fettered; and by most of the towns, all allegiance to him was openly renounced, and his uncle, Robert of Cassel, was chosen to be count in his stead. Owing, however, to the firm opposition of Ghent⁵, and to the mediation of France, the league against him agreed to set him free, when he had been a considerable time shut up; upon which he went to Paris, utterly regardless of what he had sworn, and complained to the king and the parliament of the manner in which he had been dealt with. The communities, dreading a war with the French and the loss of trade which it would bring with it, were fain to humble themselves before him and Charles the Fair, at Arques near St. Omers, on Christmas Eve, 1326; their deputies begging pardon for what had been done, and accepting a new treaty which, though it confirmed their privileges, heavily fined the insurgents⁶, and obliged three hundred of their leaders to go on distant pilgrimages.

⁴ These delegates wanted to have the accounts of the tax gatherers produced, saying that more than enough had been paid.

⁵ Ghent indeed was always jealous of Bruges.

⁶ The Flemings were to pay 100,000 livres tournois to their count, and 200,000 more to the king of France.

Another matter which gave the king some trouble, and which he did not live to settle, was the mediating the ransoms of his vassals, *John II.*, count of *Auxerre*¹, *Robert* of

¹ In the division of Maud of Bourbon's counties, in the year 1275, —see p. 225, note 2,—while *Violante*, the eldest daughter, had *Nevers* (which by her second marriage was united to *Flanders*; see p. 288, note 8), the two other daughters—*MARGARET*, the second wife of *Charles* of *Anjou*, and *ALICE*, the wife of *John de Châlons*, lord of *Roche-fort*—had *Tonnerre* and *Auxerre*. These were re-united when *Alice's* son *WILLIAM* the Great, count of *Auxerre* (who afterwards died in the battle of *Mons-en-Puelle*), had the county of *Tonnerre* given him by his childless aunt, Jan. 1293: but in the year 1321, *William's* son *JOHN II.* bestowed *Tonnerre*, as the dowry of his sister *JANE*, upon *ROBERT* of *Burgundy* (the youngest son of duke *Robert II.*); on whose death, however, Oct. 1338, it returned to him again. As *John's* mother *Eleanor* of *Savoy*, was the daughter of count *Amadeus V.*, and *Blanche* of *Burgundy*, *Robert's* sister, was married to *Edward*, count of *Savoy*; he and his brother-in-law were drawn into that alliance with *Savoy* against the *Dauphin* of *Vienne*, which cost them more than three years' captivity and very heavy ransoms, after their discomfiture on the plain of *St. Jean le Vieux*, near the castle of *Varey*. His descendants were not less unlucky. *JOHN III.* was taken prisoner at the battle of *Poitiers*, Sept. 1356; and while he was yet living, his son and colleague *JOHN IV.* and his grandson, afterwards *Lewis I.*, were taken prisoners at *Auray*, Sept. 1364, the former of these also losing his left eye. By *John IV.* the county of *Auxerre* was sold to *Charles* the Wise, his sovereign, with whom he wanted to make his peace, Jan. 1371: but *Lewis I.* tried to set aside the sale, and to make a *rétrai lignager*; as did also his son *Lewis II.*, the latter of whom at length accepted a money payment in lieu of his claims, Aug. 1404. At the congress of *Arras*, Sept. 1435, *Auxerre* was given up by *France* to *Burgundy*.—In the year 1414, *Lewis II.* having repudiated his wife and eloped with *Jane de Périlleux*, a *Burgundian* maid of honour, his liege lord, *John*, duke of *Burgundy*, whose homage he had also now renounced, seized *Tonnerre*: but some years after the death of *Lewis*,—he was slain at the battle of *Verneuil*, Aug. 1424,—his two surviving sisters were allowed to share the county. One of these, *MARGARET de Husson*, bought the other's portion, and would not pay her the money; whence a proverbial saying, "*c'est Margot de Châlons, qui ont l'argent et la denrée.*"

Burgundy, count of *Tonnerre*, and *Guichard VI.*, lord of *Beaujeu*; who had become the captives of *Guy VIII.*, dauphin of *Vienne*, when the forces of their kinsman and ally, *Edward* count of *Savoy*, were routed near *Varey*, Aug. 1325. They recovered their freedom, on very hard terms, in the beginning of the next reign.

It was the ungenerous policy of Charles the Fair, by taking advantage of the weakness of Edward, his brother-in-law, to bring Aquitaine more under his own rule. He therefore complained that homage had not yet been done for that duchy; and that the stronghold of *St. Sardos*, which had come into his possession⁸, had been pillaged and burnt by *Basset*, the seneschal of *Gascony*, and the garrison put to death. Edward was quite ready to do homage, and even to call his vassals to account for their behaviour; but said that *St. Sardos* was notoriously within his own territory, and that he could not deliver up to him the accused, as was demanded⁹. The French king, bent only upon war, sent an army raised in *Langue-doc* into *Guienne*, under the count of *Valois*: who entered *Agen*, and, in about seven weeks, overran and conquered the best part of the invaded province; the English commander—*Edmund*, earl of *Kent*, Edward's brother—being forced, for want of troops, to shut himself up in *Reoles*, which he surrendered to have a truce for a few months, Sept. 1324. This was the last achievement of Charles of *Valois*. That prince, though not yet sixty, became bed-ridden, the next year, owing to a stroke of palsy from which he never rallied; and before another Christmas came round, he was dead, Dec. 1325.

Edward, from sheer helplessness, had confirmed the

⁸ The priory of *St. Sacerdos*, or *Sardos*, was claimed by the king as his own fief, on the strength of a grant from the abbot of *Sarlat*.

⁹ For the king of France would thus have had their forfeiture,

truce, and had also called upon the Pope to arbitrate. Fearing lest he should lose the rest of Guienne, he was foolish enough to listen to a proposal artfully made to his envoys and to the papal legates, that Isabella, his faithless queen, should visit the French court on his behalf: much, it was said, might be yielded to a sister which would be withheld from any one else. Isabella came over with a splendid retinue¹; and in May 1325, a treaty was signed by which possession of Guienne was to be given to the king of France, by whom it was to be restored as soon as homage had been done: the Agenois was, however, to be kept back until the peers should decide the disputed question of right². Edward ratified this disgraceful covenant, yet not without some hesitation, and prepared for his journey to Beauvais, where the homage was to be performed on the Feast of the Assumption: but when the time drew nigh, and he was already near Dover and about to embark, he was seized with a sudden fit either of illness or misgiving; on which he stayed behind, and dispatched a messenger to account for his delay. And most foolishly did he now agree to give the duchy of Aquitaine and the county of Ponthieu to his son *Edward*, prince of *Wales*; who, at the prayer of Isabella, was to be allowed to take his place. The prince, then not much more than twelve years old, accordingly went over and did homage for the two fiefs, Sept. 1325: he had promised to return soon, and not to marry while he was abroad.

Neither of these promises were kept, as they did not happen to suit the designs of queen Isabella. That bad woman shamelessly admitted into her household the out-

¹ In March 1325; the armistice being prolonged till June.

² Should the award be against the king of France, he was still to keep his conquest until compensation was paid him for the expenses of the war.

lawed rebel *Roger Mortimer*, to be her paramour; and when she was recalled home with her son, she repeatedly refused to obey, pretending that her life would not be safe in England, owing to the enmity of *Hugh Spenser*, her husband's favourite³. She began to raise troops for an invasion of Edward's dominions; she issued orders in the prince's name to the lords of Gascony, contrary to those which his father had given as administrator of the province; she dismissed all the loyal English in her retinue; and she enlisted the king, her brother, as an accomplice in the guilty plots which she was hatching. He was shamed indeed by the remonstrances of the Pope to send her away from Paris, the following Midsummer: but he ordered inroads to be made from Languedoc into Guienne by *Alfonso de la Cerda*⁴; and when he had provoked a renewal of the war, he continued to abet his sister, for whom, after she had failed in kindling a rebellion in Ponthieu, a refuge had been found at the court of their kinsman the count of Hainault and Holland⁵. It was there that Isabella agreed to a marriage between the young prince of Wales and *Philippa of Hainault*, the third daughter of her host; thus purchasing the aid of a body of more than two thousand men-at-arms under the count's gallant brother, *John of Hainault*, count of *Soissons*⁶, with which she set sail from Dort, and landed at Orwell in Suffolk, Sept. 1326. Her success was com-

³ She also circulated most dishonourable reports with regard to Edward's fondness for that minister.

⁴ The son of Ferdinand de la Cerda.—As the expedition was under the pretence of putting down the robberies committed by the bastard sons of some Gascon lords, it was called "the War of the Bastards."

⁵ William the Good had married their cousin Jane, of Valois. See p. 389, note 1.

⁶ John of Hainault had married, in 1316, the posthumous daughter and heiress of *Hugh*, count of *Soissons*, *Margaret de Nele*, a bride hardly ten years old.

plete. The unhappy Edward II. was hurled from his throne, and—after a few troubled months of captivity—barbarously murdered.

With the fall of Edward, ended the war between England and France. A treaty of peace was signed at Paris, March 1327, in which the French king, for the sake of his sister, consented to give up all his late conquests.

Charles the Fair did not live much longer. On Christmas Eve, he was taken ill at Vincennes; and after some weeks of great suffering, he died on the morning of the day before Candlemas, Feb. 1328, aged thirty-four years. As he only left an infant daughter behind him⁷, he desired that his cousin Philip of Valois should be regent of the kingdom, if the queen, who was then with child, gave birth to a son; but should a girl happen to be born, the peers and barons of France were to adjudge the crown to whomsoever it might belong⁸. The dying king knew indeed that there were many who still looked upon the Salic Law as an innovation, and that few would like to see an inheritance go altogether out of the direct line.

The kingdom being again without a head, the barons met in Paris, and entrusted the regency to Philip of Valois⁹.

⁷ *Mary of France*; who died young and unmarried.—*Jane*, her elder sister, was already dead.

⁸ If females were to inherit when there were no males in the direct line, the infant Mary might claim the throne as the heiress of the last king; and Jane, the daughter of Lewis X., might also claim it as the heiress of the elder brother. Others thought that females might transmit the right of inheritance to their sons, *especially if these were born while the grandfather was still living*.

⁹ The doctors of civil and canon law, whom the barons consulted, had declared that females could not inherit the crown; but they could not agree about the case of the sons of females.—It is believed

And thus, almost as a matter of course, he stepped into the throne, April 1328, when the queen had been delivered of a daughter, named *Blanche*¹; and on the 29th of May, he was crowned at Rheims. While regent, he had already seized the late king's treasures, and even the treasurer himself, *Peter Rémy*: who was tortured into confessing that he had betrayed his master's interests in Gascony, and so was hanged, on St. Mark's Day, the whole of his vast wealth being forfeited. In the mean while, Philip of Evreux had taken possession of Navarre, in right of his wife Jane: but for the sake of her Spanish crown, he agreed to renounce her claims to the kingdom of France and to the county of Champagne².

From thenceforth the Salic Law was fully established as the rule of succession to the French throne.

SECTION X.

THE KINGDOMS OF THE SPANISH PENINSULA.

A. D. 761. Oviedo built by Froila I.

791—842. Reign of Alfonso II., the Chaste.

866—910. Alfonso III., the Great.—Conquest of Old Castille.

911. Garcia I. invades New Castille.

by French historians that our Edward III. had put in a claim for the regency; and indeed his letters to some nobles in the south of France, towards the end of March, showed an intention to recover all his rights: it is also certain that in May, after Philip had mounted the throne, two English bishops were sent over to France, with a procuration, to demand the kingdom itself. Yet that any formal demand was made, either of the regency or of the crown, may well be doubted.

¹ She was married, Jan. 1345, to Philip, duke of Orleans, son of Philip of Valois; but she died before another month was ended.

² See p. 378, note 8.—The people of Navarre, in their joy at recovering their independence, massacred thousands of Jews.

- A. D. 914. Ordogno II. makes Leon the capital.
 960. Ferdinand Gonsalvo, count of Castille.
 996. Leon sacked by Almanzor.
 998. Defeat of Almanzor at Calatagnazor.
 1037. Bermudo III. slain ; conquest of Leon by Castille.

About the year 761, Oviedo is said to have been built, and made the seat of a kingdom, by FROILA I., one of the early sovereigns of the unconquered Visigoths in the mountains of the Asturias³. By ALFONSO II., *the Chaste*, who, in the beginning of the next century, founded the famous church and shrine of St. James at Compostella⁴, the caliph of Cordova was refused the yearly tribute of one hundred maidens, which several of Froila's successors had paid ; and as the Saracens were weakened by rebellions, and by the inroad of the Franks upon their eastern frontier, the kingdom of Oviedo now steadily extended itself, and grew formidable to its foes. When ALFONSO III., *the Great*, divided it between his two sons, on his abdication, Dec. 910, it comprised, besides the Asturias and part of Biscay, all Galicia, Northern Lusitania as far as the Duro, and Old Castille ; the last of these provinces having its name from the line of castles by which the newly conquered border was held. On the death of the new king of Oviedo, GARCIA I., by whom the country on the other side of the ridges of the Guadarrama, since known as New Castille, was successfully invaded ; the younger brother, ORDOGNO II., king of Galicia, inherited, in the year 914, all that had belonged to his father, and made Leon the capital city in-

³ The history of these princes is very obscure. PELAYO (*Pelagius*), said to have been made king of the Asturias in the year 718, is about as fabulous a person as Pharamond, king of the Franks.

⁴ This shrine, the resort of so many pilgrims, contained what was believed to be the newly found body of St. James the Great ; whose name eventually became the battle cry of Spain.

stead of Oviedo. Not many years afterwards, Castille became virtually independent⁵; its hereditary counts often serving the kings of Leon in war, but rather as friends and allies than as vassals.

In the reign of Ordogno's great grandson BERMUDO II., *the Gouty*,—in the year 995,—the very existence of the kingdom of Leon was threatened by the terrible enemy of the Christians, *Mahomet Almanzor*, the vizir of the caliph *Haccham II.* The infidels, in their first campaign, broke through the frontier; in the second and third, Leon and Compostella were sacked and burnt; in the fourth, however, which was in the year 998, Almanzor and all his host were routed in a pitched battle at Calatagnazor, by Bermudo, with whom, in the common danger, the Navarrese and the Castillians had also joined their forces⁶. This Bermudo's grandson, BERMUDO III., the last male of his race, was slain while fighting against the husband of his own sister *Sanchia*, *Ferdinand of Navarre*, the first king of Castille; who then united Leon to his new kingdom, either as a conquest or in right of his wife, July 1037.

A. D. 778. The Spanish March conquered by Charlemagne.

801. Barcelona taken by the Franks.

864. Barcelona erected into a county.

967. Borrel, count of Barcelona.

985—988. The Saracens occupy Barcelona.

1137. Raymond-Berenger IV. affianced to the heiress of Arragon.

⁵ As early as the year 924, the nobles of Castille elected two knights as judges. And about the year 960, they chose FERDINAND GONSAIVO to be their count; whose male line ended, in the year 1028, in GARCIA-SANCHO, the eldest sister of whom, *Munia Elvira*, was married to Sancho the Great, king of Navarre.

⁶ In times of less danger, the Christians themselves would make leagues with the Moslems. Bermudo's own daughter *Theresa* was married, after her father's death, to *Abdalla*, king of Toledo.

The Spanish March—conquered from the Saracens by Charlemagne, and annexed by his son Lewis to Septimania⁷—was erected into a separate county by Charles the Bald, in the year 864. The first count of Barcelona was **WIFRED the Hairy**, in whose family the fief remained, though it did not become strictly hereditary until the days of his grandson **BORREL**; who, when defeated by Almanzor, in the year 985, lost and afterwards recovered his capital. Towards the middle of the twelfth century, the kingdom of Arragon was, by the marriage of an heiress, united to Catalonia⁸.

The sovereignty of France over the Spanish March was given up by St. Lewis, at the Treaty of Corbeil, May 1258.

- A. D. 860. Garcia-Ximenes, king of Navarre.
- 880. Fortuno, king of Navarre.
- 905. Fortuno abdicates; Sancho-Garcia I.
- 921. Battle of Val de Jonquera.
- 926. Garcia II.
- 938. Battle of Simancas.
- 970. Sancho II., Abarca.
- 990. Sancho Abarca repels the Saracens.
- 994. Garcia III., the Trembler.
- 998. Battle of Calatagnazor.
- 1000. Sancho III., the Great.
- 1028. Sancho the Great acquires Castille.
- 1033. Castille erected into a kingdom.
- 1035. *Death of Sancho the Great.*

In the hill country on the south of the Pyrenees, the Vascon or Basque population, which neither the Romans, nor the

⁷ In the year 817.—Of the whole duchy, Barcelona, taken by Lewis himself when king of Aquitaine (A.D. 801), now became the capital.

⁸ RAYMOND-BERENGER IV., the sixth in descent from Borrel, was affianced to the infant heiress of Arragon, in the year 1137; and was her guardian until he became her husband, in the year 1151.

Visigoths, nor the Franks had ever thoroughly subdued, had also stood its ground against the Saracens.

About the year 860, GARCIA-XIMENES, the count of *Navarre*, took the title of king; founding a dynasty which reigned in Pampeluna over Navarre, the district of *Soprarbe*⁹, and part of Biscay. He was succeeded, in the year 880, by his son FORTUNO; who became a monk some twenty-five years afterwards, leaving the throne to his younger brother SANCHE-GARCIA I., whose days were also ended in a cloister, although he never resigned his power. Sancho-Garcia once came forth from his seclusion, and saved his kingdom, when his son, the crown prince, and Ordogno II. of Leon had been beaten by the Moslems in the valley of Jonquera (A.D. 921): he died in the year 926, and was succeeded by GARCIA II., whose troops afterwards had a share in the glorious victory of Simancas, won over the enemies of the cross by *Ramiro II.* of Leon, Aug. 938. Garcia's son SANCHE II. *Abarca* (the Gaitered), who inherited the crown in the year 970, and his grandson GARCIA III., *the Trembler*¹, whose reign began in the year 994, fought valiantly against the Infidels: the former drove them out of his country, when they had broken in, and penetrated as far as Pampeluna (A.D. 990); and the latter marched with his army to the help of Leon, and returned a conqueror from that bloody field on which the mighty Almanzor was overthrown, and Christian Spain was saved (A.D. 998).

On the death of Garcia the Trembler, at the close of the tenth century, his son SANCHE III., *the Great*, raised

⁹ Jaca, in the Soprarbe, had become the capital of a little free state, which was united to Navarre, and afterwards expanded into the kingdom of Arragon.

¹ He would shake like a leaf when putting on his armour before a battle.

the kingdom of Navarre to its proudest height. By that able prince the county of Castille was acquired in right of his wife (A.D. 1028): but it was settled upon his second son, to whom, in the year 1033, the independent sovereignty and the regal title were conceded by the king of Leon; and when he himself died, Feb. 1035, the rest of his dominions had been divided among his children. *Garcia*, his first-born, had Navarre; *Ferdinand*, Castille; *Gonsalvo*², Soprarbe; and *Ramiro*, Arragon.

This measure, by which the power of the Christians was again split, was not quite so impolitic as it might seem. In Spain, the country of guerilla warfare, small but compact states would carry on the struggle against the Mahometans with far more spirit than an unwieldy kingdom, made up of parts suddenly put together, and ill organized; and though the system of partition had its evils, these were gradually lessened by the more durable unions of Soprarbe and Catalonia with Arragon, and of Leon with Castille. Throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Christians, almost always victorious in the field³, took and pillaged the towns of the enemy in their forays, and gradually settled in their deserted homesteads; so that by the middle of the thirteenth, there remained but the kingdom of Granada, into which, however, the retreating population condensed itself⁴, and powerful succours were thrown by the African

² Gonsalvo was assassinated, three years afterwards; on which Soprarbe was annexed to Arragon.

³ Much good service was done by the Military orders. The Knights Templars were endowed with large districts in the newly conquered parts of Arragon beyond the Ebro; and there also arose the orders of Calatrava (A.D. 1158), St. James of Compostella (A.D. 1175), and Alcantara (A.D. 1176), in Galicia and Castille. In Portugal were the orders of Aviz (A.D. 1147) and of Christ (A.D. 1319).

⁴ The Christians there had either been forced to become Moslems, or had fled from the kingdom; for in the twelfth century, the Moors

Moors. Its fall was delayed two hundred and fifty years longer, partly owing to the sluggishness which had grown upon the Castillians.

The conquests thus made, were Portugal, which became a separate kingdom ; Toledo, Spanish Estremadura, Andalusia, and Murcia, which were annexed by Castille ; and Valencia and the Balearic Islands, which were won by the arms of Arragon.

NAVÁRRE.

A. D. 1035. Garcia IV.

1054. Sancho IV.

1076. Sancho V., of Arragon, seizes Navarre.

1094. Peter I., king of Navarre and Arragon.

1104. Alfonso I., king of Navarre and Arragon.

1134. Garcia Ramiro V. chosen king of Navarre.

1140. Siege of Pampeluna.

1150. Sancho VI., the Wise.

1172—1179. War with Arragon.

1194. Sancho VII., the Strong and the Recluse.

1212. Battle of Tolosa.

1234. Death of Sancho the Strong.

GARCIA IV., the king of Navarre^s, won a victory, in the year 1042, over Ramiro of Arragon, his brother ; who had leagued himself with some of the neighbouring Mahometan princes, and had suddenly fallen upon him. Treacherously imprisoned by Ferdinand of Castille, his other surviving brother, when he went to see him in his illness ; the much injured prince, as soon as he could escape, once more took up arms to avenge himself, and was slain in a battle near Burgos, Sept. 1054. His eldest son SANCHE IV. was

had begun to persecute. In New Castille and Southern Arragon, when under the Mahometan rule, the Christian subjects—called from their dialect Mosarabic—were very numerous.

^s Part of Old Castille, as far as Burgos, also belonged to him, but not to his successors.

plotted against and murdered by his own brother and sister, *Ramiro*, count of *Calahorra*, and *Ermessinda*, June 1076; after which *SANCHO-RAMIRO*, the second king of Arragon, seized upon Navarre. Under Sancho V., *PETER I.*, and *ALFONSO I.*, Navarre and Arragon were united for somewhat more than fifty-eight years.

After the death of Alfonso I., Sept. 1134, *GARCIA RAMIRO V.*, the grandson of the fratricide count of Calahorra⁶, was called to the throne by the Navarrese. He waged fierce wars with Arragon and with Castille; once, when besieged in Pampeluna by *Alfonso VIII.* of Castille, May 1140, he saved his capital by a noble sally. Dying of a fall from his horse, Nov. 1150, he was succeeded by *SANCHO VI.*, *the Wise*, in whose reign the strife with Arragon and Castille was still kept up. It ceased indeed for a while, and the Spanish princes agreed to stand by each other against the Moorish Almohades: but the union of the Christians was suddenly broken, in the year 1172, by an inroad of Sancho into Arragon; in return for which his own kingdom was overrun and ravaged by Alfonso II. of Arragon, and by his ally Alfonso IX. of Castille. Peace was at last mediated by Henry II. of England, in the year 1179.

To Sancho the Wise succeeded *SANCHO VII.*, *the Strong*, June 1194; a king who, during most of his long reign, shut himself up in his palace at Tudela, owing to a cancerous disease with which he was afflicted⁷, yet did not fail to play his part in the glorious conflict at Tolosa, July 1212. In the year 1224,—having early lost his only son *Ferdinand*, borne him by his repudiated wife Constance of

⁶ His father *Ramiro* married *Christina*, one of the Cid's daughters.

⁷ Hence he was called the "Shut Up" or "Recluse."—His illness began after his return from Morocco, where he had sought to marry the king's daughter.

Thoulouse,—he adopted Theobald, count of Champagne, the child of his younger sister *Blanche*²; notwithstanding which, he afterwards sent for James I. of Arragon, and in the treaty of Tudela, which was ratified by the nobles of both their kingdoms, named him his heir (Feb. 1231). When the throne, however, became vacant, April 1234, that treaty was set aside. Not a single Navarrese cared to abide by it; and by Pope Gregory IX., all who should disturb the rights of Theobald were threatened with excommunication.

A. D. 1234. Theobald I., the Posthumous.

1239, 1240. Crusade of Theobald.

1255. Theobald II.

1270. Crusade and death of Theobald II.—Henry the Fat.

1274. Death of Henry the Fat.

THEOBALD I., *the Posthumous*, went on a crusade to the Holy Land; but came home without doing any thing. On his death, July 1255, his dominions were inherited by his eldest son THEOBALD II.³; who married the daughter of St. Lewis, and died in Sicily, Dec. 1270, as he was returning from his father-in-law's ill-fated crusade against Tunis.

The brother of Theobald II., HENRY *the Fat*, the next king, when bereaved of his infant son, who was also named *Theobald*¹, had an only daughter acknowledged as heiress

² Her eldest sister, Berengaria, the wife of Richard I. of England, was childless.

³ Young Theobald's kingdom was claimed by John I., duke of Britany, his sister Blanche's husband; who by the marriage contract was to have Navarre should he have a son when Theobald I. died. He was satisfied by a rent-charge of 3000 livres.

¹ This babe had fallen from a balcony, when tossed about in play by his governor and his nurse. The former of these, on failing to catch the child that had been thrown to him, threw himself down after him, and was also killed.

of the crown, notwithstanding the unwillingness of the States to be under the rule of a female. He died choked by his fat, July 1274.

A. D. 1274. Jane I.—The French occupy Navarre.

1284. Jane of Navarre marries Philip the Fair.

1305. Lewis the Hutin [crowned, 1307].

1316. Death of Lewis ; Regency of Philip the Long.

1318. Philip the Long becomes king of Navarre.

1322. Charles I., the Fair.

1328. Death of Charles the Fair.

JANE I., who was then about three years and a half old, was carried off by her mother to the court of Philip the Hardy ; a step which led to the occupation of Navarre by French troops². Married in after life to Philip the Fair, this wise and beautiful queen governed her own dominions herself: and when she died at Vincennes, April 1305, these were inherited by her eldest son LEWIS *the Hutin* ; who in due time became also king of France. Lewis dying, July 1316, they were seized by PHILIP *the Long*, his brother³ ; and on Philip's decease without heirs male, Jan. 1322, they fell into the possession of CHARLES *the Fair*, after whose death, Feb. 1328, Navarre was recovered by Jane of France, the daughter of Lewis⁴.

A. D. 1328. Jane II. and Philip of Evreux.

1343. Death of Philip.

1349. Charles II., the Bad.

1387. Charles III., the Noble.

1425. John of Arragon and Blanche.

1441. Death of Blanche.

1452. Charles of Viana taken prisoner.

² See above, in the reign of Philip III., pp. 306, 307.

³ At first, he professed to be only the guardian of his brother's orphan daughter.—See above, pp. 377, 378.

⁴ Jane and her husband then promised the States to give up the kingdom to their eldest son, when he should be twenty years old.

A. D. 1455, 1456. The civil war renewed.

1458. John inherits Arragon.

1460. Charles of Viana arrested.

1461. Death of Charles of Viana.

1464. Donna Blanche dies in prison.

1479. Death of John of Arragon and Navarre.

JANE II., whose consort PHILIP of *Evreux* died before her (Sept. 1343), was succeeded, on her own death, Oct. 1349, by her depraved son the notorious CHARLES II., *the Bad*. After him came CHARLES III., *the Noble*, Jan. 1387; and then BLANCHE, that prince's eldest surviving daughter⁵, and her second husband⁶ JOHN of *Arragon*, Sept. 1425.

John of Arragon, when left a widower, April 1441, still continued to hold the kingly power; his son *Charles*, the prince of *Viana*, being enjoined by the will of his deceased mother not to assume it without his leave. Charles, when provoked by an encroaching stepmother, at length appealed to the sword against his father: but he was defeated and taken prisoner, Oct. 1452, and was only released at the intercession of *John II.* of Castille. Early in the year 1455, he and his sister *Blanche*, the divorced princess of *Asturias*⁷, raised a fresh rebellion, for which they were both of them disinherited: the next year, although he had reduced the largest portion of the kingdom, he was beaten in a decisive battle at *Estella* by the old king and his son-in-law *Gaston IV.*, count of *Foix*, whose wife *Leonora* was to be the heiress of Navarre. The baffled prince fled to France, and from thence to Naples, where he sought and found the protection of his uncle *Alfonso V.*, the king of Arragon and

⁵ Charles had also lost two infant sons, the eldest of whom was *Charles*, prince of *Viana*.

⁶ Her first husband was *Martin* of Arragon, king of Sicily.

⁷ She had been divorced, in the year 1453, by her husband *Don Henry*, soon afterwards *Henry IV.* of Castille.

Sicily; who undertook to arbitrate between him and his father, but died before he settled any thing, June 1458.

John, now become also king of Arragon, Sardinia, and Sicily, once more forgave his son: but he eventually enticed him home from Sicily where he was deservedly beloved, and caused him to be arrested at Lerida; being still set against him by *Joanna Henriquez*, his second wife*. Charles was again released; for the Catalans had broken out into rebellion, and it was no longer safe to oppress him: he died, shortly afterwards, Sept. 1461, bequeathing his claims, as he had no legitimate children, to his sister Blanche. More unhappy yet than her brother, Blanche was disinherited afresh by her father, in the year 1462⁹, and by him was given up into the hands of the count of Foix and his wife; who confined her in the castle of Orthez, where she is believed to have been poisoned (Dec. 1464).

After undergoing many troubles, owing to the turbulence of the Catalans, John of Arragon died peacefully at Barcelona, Jan. 1479, in the eighty-third year of his age.

- A. D. 1479. Leonora of Arragon. Francis-Phœbus.
- 1483. Catherine of Foix.
- 1484. Catherine marries John d'Albret.
- 1497. Treaty of Tarbes.
- 1512. Ferdinand of Arragon conquers Navarre.

LEONORA, the countess of Foix, had not reigned a month when she died at Tudela, Feb. 1479. Her grandson and successor FRANCIS-PHŒBUS (whose father *Gaston*, prince of *Viana*, had been killed in a tournament) was under the

* Daughter of *Ferdinand Henriquez*, the admiral of Castille.—She was trying to get her own son Ferdinand on the throne of Arragon.

⁹ It was to raise money to put down the Navarrese insurgents and their Castilian allies, that John mortgaged Roussillon to Lewis XI. of France, April 1462.

guardianship of *Magdalen of France*¹, his widowed mother ; and after his death at the age of fifteen, Jan. (or Feb.) 1483, his sister CATHERINE inherited Navarre, with the county of Foix, Bigorre, and Béarn. She was married, the next year, to JOHN D'ALBRET, a rich French nobleman, June 1484.

Catherine's right was disputed by her uncle *John of Foix*, viscount of *Narbonne* ; who at length agreed at Tarbes, Sept. 1497, to accept a rent-charge of 4000 livres yearly instead of his claims. But speedily was the treaty broken, when his wife's brother, the duke of *Orleans*², came to the throne of France as Lewis XII., April 1498 ; and notwithstanding that it was ratified by other conventions, there was litigation and war from the viscount and his heirs and representatives as long as Catherine and her husband lived³. In the end, their son *Henry d'Albret* was left in possession of his French fiefs, by a decision of the parliament of Paris, Oct. 1517.

By that time, the kingdom of Navarre had been lost to the house of Albret. It was conquered from Catherine's

¹ The daughter of Charles VII. and the sister of Lewis XI.

² The viscount had married *Mary of Orleans*.

³ In April 1499, it had been agreed that the viscount's only son Gaston should marry *Anne d'Albret*, one of Catherine's daughters ; and the treaty of Tarbes was, in March 1500, confirmed by that of Estampes, which was ratified by Lewis XII. himself in May. Notwithstanding this, the marriage never took place ; moreover the viscount, when on his death-bed, assumed the title of king of Navarre, declaring in his last will that he had been overreached in the treaty of Tarbes. By the influence of the king of France, young Gaston's guardian, the parliament of Paris cancelled that treaty, in the year 1502 ; and after Gaston's death at Ravenna, April 1512, the confusion was increased by the conflicting claims of his sister *Germaine*, the queen of Ferdinand the Catholic, and of the male heir *Odet of Foix*, marshal *Lautrec*, the representative of *Peter of Foix*, Gaston IV.'s younger brother.

unwarlike husband by the wily FERDINAND *the Catholic*, John of Arragon's son; whose troops, under *Frederic de Toledo*, duke of *Alba*, entered Pampeluna in triumph, July 1512, meeting with but little resistance in a land which had proudly kept its independence for so many centuries.

CASTILLE.

- A. D. 1033. Ferdinand I., king of Castille.
- 1037. The kingdom of Leon annexed.
- 1044. Lamego taken.
- 1045. Coimbra reduced.
- 1054. Garcia of Navarre slain near Burgos.
- 1065. Death of Ferdinand.

Sancho the Great's second son FERDINAND I., the king of Castille and Leon ⁴, fought successfully against the Moslems; taking from them Lamego and Coimbra in Portugal, and driving them quite out of Old Castille. He had also a war with his elder brother Garcia of Navarre; who took up arms to avenge himself for having been treacherously imprisoned, and was slain near Burgos, Sept. 1054.

When Ferdinand died at Leon, Dec. 1065, Castille only was inherited by his eldest son *Sancho*. To *Alfonso* and *Garcia*, the younger sons, were given the kingdoms of Leon and Galicia ⁵; and to their two sisters, the towns and districts of Zamora and Toro.

- A. D. 1065. Sancho II.
- 1070. Sancho conquers Leon.
- 1071. Sancho seizes upon Galicia.
- 1072. Death of Sancho. Alfonso VI.
- 1073. Garcia deposed and imprisoned.

⁴ For the account of the origin of the kingdom of Castille and the conquest of Leon, see above, p. 398.

⁵ Leon included Oviedo in the Asturias, and Galicia part of Portugal.

A.D. 1065. Toledo taken.

1067. Battle of Zelaka, near Badajoz.

1091. Yuzuf conquers the Mahometan States.

1094. The Cid reduces Valencia.

1099. Death of the Cid.

1102. The Moors retake Valencia.

1106. Don Sancho slain by the Moors.

1109. Death of Alfonso VI.

SANCHO II., *the Strong*⁶, now king of Castille, had but lately helped the Mahometans of Saragossa to overpower his own uncle, Ramiro of Arragon, at the battle of Graos, May 1063; nor was he long upon the throne before he sought to deprive his brothers and sisters of their possessions. After a brave struggle, Alfonso yielded up Leon, in the year 1070, and put on the cowl of a monk; in another year, the tyrant Garcia was driven out of Galicia; then Toro was reduced; and last of all, Zamora was besieged, and would have been taken but for the murder of Sancho by a pretended deserter, Oct. 1072.

As Sancho was childless, Alfonso—who had already escaped from his cloister to the court of *Maimun*, king of Toledo—recovered Leon, and was called to the throne of Castille. Garcia likewise returned from Seville, where he had found a refuge; and again reigned in Galicia.

ALFONSO VI., justly named *the Valiant*⁷, had hardly been a twelvemonth in his new kingdom, before he fell upon his brother and deposed him. The wretched Garcia lived eighteen dreary years within the walls of the castle of Lima, until death set him free, March 1091; and then, according to his own wish, the bars of his prison were buried with him in his grave.

In the days of Alfonso flourished the Cid, the renowned

⁶ This king was Sancho the *Second*, as count of Castille.

⁷ Alfonso was styled the *Sixth*, as king of Leon.

*Roderic Diaz of Bivar*⁸; who—whether trusted and employed by his sovereign, or keeping aloof at the head of his own vassals—waged incessant war with the Infidels. Another glory of this reign, the noblest prize which had yet been won, was the conquest of the kingdom of Toledo, May 1085. The city of Toledo—the old capital of the Visigoths—was made the residence of Alfonso, and the see of a richly endowed archbishop, the primate of Spain⁹.

But the falling power of the Moslems was suddenly upheld by *Yuzuf* (Joseph) the Almoravide; who came from Barbary to the help of *Mahomet Ben Abad*, king of *Seville*,

⁸ *Cid* (lord) was a name given to the warlike Roderic by the Moslems. Born, about the year 1040, near Burgos, he slew in single combat, while yet a youth, the count of *Gormas*, who had given a blow to his aged father; some time after which achievement, his sovereign bestowed upon him the hand of the heroic *Ximena*, the wealthy daughter and heiress of the man whom he had killed. The most valiant, and one of the most powerful of the Spanish nobles, he took the lead in calling Alfonso to the throne: but he offended the new king by making him thrice swear that he had no hand in *Sancho's* death; nor could he, when afterwards reconciled, ever keep his favour. Living almost always aloof from court, he at length conquered from the Infidels the city of Valencia (A.D. 1094), and held it until his death, which took place there in the year 1099. Three years afterwards, the Moors retook Valencia.

⁹ Urban II. decreed the primacy to Toledo, Oct. 1088; a change which was long opposed, especially by the Portuguese archbishops of Braga. There was also much resistance to the substitution of the Gallican for the old Spanish or Mosarabic ritual, A.D. 1091. The opponents of Alfonso and of the papal party had the question tried both by battle and ordeal: but though the Mosarabic champion was victorious, and the old ritual came out unscathed from the fire which burnt the rival liturgy, they were at last obliged to give way.—Alfonso had so far submitted to Hildebrand's claim of sovereignty over Spain (A.D. 1077), as to pay a yearly sum of money. This tribute was refused by his successors.

and thus brought on the signal defeat of Alfonso at Zelaka, near Bajadoz, Dec. 1087. The African prince became yet more dangerous to the Christians a few years later, when he turned against his friends, and annexed the states in Andalusia, Murcia, and Grenada to his own powerful kingdom; and the century ended gloomily with the death of the Cid, the great and invincible Spanish champion, whose soul-stirring deeds had set an example to his countrymen, which long continued to be felt.

Alfonso died in June 1109; leaving behind him a daughter, named *Urraca*, who was borne him by *Constance of Burgundy*, the second of his six wives¹. *Theresa*, one of his illegitimate children², was married to Constance's nephew, *Henry of Burgundy*³; who was created count of Portugal in the year 1095, and was the father of the first king of that country.

A. D. 1109. *Urraca and Alfonso VII.*

1111. *Urraca's* party defeated at Campo de Espina.

1112. *Urraca* proclaims her son Alfonso king of Galicia.

1114. *Urraca's* marriage annulled.

1116. War between *Urraca* and her son.

1126. Death of *Urraca*.

URRACA, having lately lost her first husband, *Raymond of Burgundy*⁴, became, about the time of her accession, the wife of her kinsman the king of Arragon and Navarre; who, as *ALFONSO VII.*, had the crown matrimonial in her dominions. She would not, however, let him rule, and outraged

¹ Alfonso, by his fourth wife *Zaide* (christened as *Maria-Isabella*), the daughter of the king of Seville, had also a son named *Sancho*, who had fallen in battle when quite young.

² Theresa's mother was one *Ximena Nunez*, as the Spaniards remind the Portuguese.

³ Grandson of Robert, duke of Burgundy.—See p. 149, note 2.

⁴ Son of William, count of Burgundy.—See p. 47, note 2.

him by her gallantries⁵. He tried to shut her up in a castle; but she fled into Castille, and after a short reconciliation, they were at open war.

Her army being beaten at Campo de Espina, Oct. 1111, Urraca withdrew into Galicia. The next year, she proclaimed the son of her first marriage, Alfonso-Raymond, king of that province; and when another twelvemonth had elapsed, she got possession of Burgos, and recovered Castille, which, during these troubles, had greatly suffered from the inroads of the Moors. She likewise succeeded in having her union with Alfonso annulled by the papal legate, Oct. 1114.

In the year 1116, Urraca also took up arms against her son the king of Galicia. *Diego Gelmirez*, the deposed bishop of *Santiago*, reconciled them; in return for which good service, the queen came herself to Santiago, to restore him to his see (A.D. 1117). She nearly lost her life. The people of the city set the great church on fire while she was in it, and she had to escape out of the building through the flames.

Urraca died at Leon, March 1126. She was succeeded by her son.

A. D. 1126. Alfonso VIII.

1135. Alfonso crowned emperor of Spain.

1157. Death of Alfonso; his kingdom divided.

ALFONSO VIII.⁶, having the firm support of his new subjects, recovered without bloodshed all the places which

⁵ The house of *Hurtado de Mendoza* claim descent from *Hurtado* (born in secret), said to have been her child by *Gomes de Campo de Espina*, the bastard of Castille; who shared her favours with Don *Peter de Lara*.

⁶ He is also called Alfonso VII., as at p. 178; his step-father not being properly king of Leon.

his step-father still held in Castille. When that warlike prince died, and Arragon and Navarre were again separated, July 1134, Alfonso helped the new kings, and saved them from being overpowered by the Moors; thus gaining the homage of his neighbours⁷, and the glory of being crowned at Leon as emperor of Spain, on Whit-Sunday, May 1135.

On the death of Alfonso VIII., Aug. 1157, Castille only was inherited by his elder son. To the younger son Don *Ferdinand* was given the kingdom of Leon, together with the Asturias and Galicia.

A. D. 1157. Sancho III. of Castille and Ferdinand II. of Leon.

1158. Alfonso III. succeeds to Castille.

1188. Alfonso IX. succeeds to Leon.

1195, 1196. Victorious progress of Yacub.

1200. Conquest of Biscay by Alfonso III.

1212. *Battle of Tolosa.*

1214. Henry I. succeeds Alfonso III.

1217. Death of Henry; Ferdinand the Saint inherits Castille.

1230. Alfonso IX. dies; Leon and Castille united.

SANCHO III., the king of Castille, did not reign more than a twelvemonth. His brother the king of Leon, FERDINAND II., outlived him thirty years; and was succeeded, Jan. 1188, by ALFONSO IX., the offspring of a marriage with *Urraca of Portugal*⁸, which had been annulled as being within the forbidden degrees. This Alfonso, whose title to the crown of Leon had been none the worse⁹, was

⁷ Yet he was soon at war with Navarre. In April 1140, he raised the siege of Pampeluna (see p. 403).

⁸ Daughter of Alfonso-Henry, the first king of Portugal.

⁹ In the Peninsula, bastards would even share with the rest of the children, if not otherwise provided for; and when there was no legitimate issue, they inherited in preference to collateral. The *barragans*, or concubine, had rights. She and the wife often lived together under the same roof, almost on equal terms; and the insolent mistresses of the priests were so numerous a body, that they had special laws and privileges.

yet more irregular than his father ; his wives, *Theresa of Portugal* and *Berengaria of Castille*, being both of them his first cousins. Twice was his kingdom put under an interdict ; twice was he made to send away his queen¹.

In Castille, *ALFONSO III.*², *the Noble and the Good*, Sancho's son, had become king before he was three years old. In after life, he had wars with his cousin Alfonso of Leon ; with Sancho VII. of Navarre, from whom he conquered the provinces of Biscay, Alava, and Guipuzcoa ; and also with the Moors. His inroads having roused *Yacub* (Jacob), the king of *Morocco*, to proclaim a holy war, he lost a great battle, and was himself wounded in the thigh, July 1195 : but this reverse, which for a while laid Castille open to the inroads of the Moslems, was nobly retrieved, several years later, when *Mehemet el Nazir*, *Yacub's* son and successor, gathered together a huge force, and threatened to conquer the whole of Christian Spain. The heart of the nation was stirred by the preaching of a crusade ; the kings of Navarre and Arragon hastened with their bravest warriors to the help of Alfonso and the Castellians ; and at Las Navas de Tolosa, near Ubeda, July 1212, the power of the Almohades was shattered,

¹ The first marriage was annulled in the year 1192 ; but though Portugal as well as Leon was put under an interdict, Theresa was not sent home until the year 1195. She became a nun, thirty-three years afterwards, and eventually died in the odour of sanctity, July 1250. The dispensation for the second marriage, in the year 1197, was refused by Innocent III. ; yet it was not until the year 1202, that he hurled forth his dreaded weapons, excommunication and interdict. It took twelve years more to force obedience to the Pope's will. Both queens had children.—In the year 1212, Theresa was helped by her former husband against her brother, Alfonso II. of Portugal ; who wanted to seize her apanage. Her son *Ferdinand* died in 1214.

² He is also incorrectly styled Alfonso VIII. and Alfonso IX., although he was never king of Leon.

and the tide of Moorish aggression was turned back for ever.

Alfonso dying, two years after this glorious victory and fifty-six after his accession, Aug. 1214; his only son HENRY I. inherited Castille, when not much more than ten years of age.

Henry was at first under the care of *Eleanor of England*³, his mother. His next guardian was his sister Berengaria, the divorced queen of Leon; who rashly gave up the regency to *Alvaro de Lara*, a reckless, overbearing ruler whom all men hated, and with whom she herself was soon at war. The death of the young king, owing to the fall of a tile upon his head, June 1217, put a timely stop to the mischief. Berengaria was now proclaimed queen at Valladolid, notwithstanding a settlement made by Alfonso in favour of the issue of her elder sister Blanche, the wife of the crown prince of France; and being supported by the nobles of Castille, she forthwith transferred her rights to her son by the king of Leon, and got him raised to the throne (Aug. 1217). He eventually succeeded also to his father's kingdom⁴, Sept. 1230; and thus Leon and Castille were permanently united.

A. D. 1230. Ferdinand III., king of Castille and Leon.

1236. Ferdinand takes Cordova.

1248. Seville taken.

1250. Cadiz taken.

FERDINAND III., *the Saint*⁵, Berengaria's son, was an

³ The daughter of Henry II.—Mariana gives as the date of her death, Oct. 1214.—See p. 215, note 4.

⁴ Not without some trouble. The old king, jealous that his son had Castille which he wanted for himself, had entailed the kingdom of Leon on the daughters of his former marriage.

⁵ Long deemed a saint in Spain, he was canonized by *Clement X.*, in 1671.

accomplished knight, a friend of learning, a lover of righteousness, and a wise and valiant conqueror. Wielding the undivided strength of Leon and Castille at the time that the Moors were splitting again into detached states, he took Cordova, the splendid city of the Western caliphs, June 1236; and still further extending his power in Andalusia as well as Estramadura, he forced wealthy and populous Seville to capitulate, Nov. 1248, and also, in his last campaign, reduced the town of Xeres and the important port of Cadiz.

While Ferdinand was at the height of his glory, his health declined. He died of a dropsy, May 1252, and was buried in the cathedral of Seville⁶.

A. D. 1252. Alfonso X.

1257. Election of Alfonso to be king of the Romans.

1259. Henry of Castille revolts.

1266. Alfonso annexes Murcia.

1275. Irruption of the African Moors.—Death of the Infant Ferdinand.

1276. Cortes of Segovia.

1277. Flight of the queen with the Infants of La Cerda.

1280. Don Sancho revolts.

1284. Sancho pardoned. Death of Alfonso X.

ALFONSO X., *the Wise*, was an astronomer⁷, a poet, and a legislator. As a king he was much inferior to his father, although the early part of his reign could boast of several advantages gained over the Moors, from whom, with the help of the Arragonese, the whole of Murcia was won

⁶ Aged 52 years.—His first wife was Beatrice, the daughter of the Emperor Philip of Swabia and the mother of Alfonso X. He afterwards married Joan of Ponthieu and Aumale, by whom he had Ferdinand II. of Aumale, and Eleanor, the queen of Edward I. of England. See p. 240, note 4, and p. 242, note 5.

⁷ Under his auspices, with the aid of learned Jews, the Alphonsine astronomical tables were constructed.

(A.D. 1266). In the code of laws which he compiled¹, he yielded up to Rome the ecclesiastical rights of his crown; nor indeed, when a faction in Germany had chosen him to be king of the Romans, could he get himself to forego an empty title, even though his people would not let him risk any thing to secure it².

The troubles of his reign began early. His brother Henry rose against him³, and was aided by the Mahometans; the revolt, however, was quelled, and its leaders were driven into exile. Some years later, the Moors from Barbary came at the calling of their brethren of Grenada; won two great battles⁴; and brought Castille, and Arragon also, into much peril. The energy of Don Sancho, Alfonso's second son, saved Castille, after the crown-prince, the Infant Ferdinand, had died while on his march to attack the enemy (Aug. 1275): but the peace which he restored to his country was woefully disturbed by his determination to set aside his brother's children, the Infants of La Cerda, and thus succeed to the throne. At the cortes of Segovia, his spirit and courage forced Alfonso to abandon the principle of representation which had been adopted in the new code⁵, and to declare him his heir; and yet—as the Infants were the children of Blanche, the daughter of St. Lewis, and Violante of Arragon, the queen, was strongly on their side—any man with his eyes open must have foreseen that such a measure would bring on a civil war, in which the

¹ The *Siete Partidas*.—His father had set him the example of collecting and revising the laws.

² See p. 139, and also p. 306, note 2.

³ Together with Frederic, an older brother. See vol. i., pp. 468, 469, note 2.

⁴ In one of these, Sancho of Arragon, archbishop of Toledo, the queen's brother, was slain.

⁵ The *Siete Partidas* were not universally received as law, until they were confirmed by the cortes of Alcalá, in 1348.

French and Arragonese, and even the Moslems, would interfere. Nor was it long before matters came to a crisis.

In the depth of winter, Jan. 1277, Violante of Arragon suddenly fled with Blanche and the Infants of La Cerda to the court of her brother Peter III.³; who kept the children, and would not yield them up either to the French or to the Castillians⁴. While things were in this state, Sancho found that he could not trust his father: which so exasperated him, that at last he openly took up arms and was disinherited. The deed to this effect, signed at Seville in November 1282, was notwithstanding annulled, together with the wills by which it was twice confirmed: for when Alfonso was dying, Sancho besought him for pardon, and was forgiven. The old king thus ended his days in peace, April 1284.

A. D. 1284. Sancho IV.

1288. The Infants of La Cerda let loose.

1290. War with Morocco.

1292. Revolt of Don John.

1295. Death of Sancho IV.

SANCHO IV., *the Great*, had by no means a quiet reign. France indeed agreed to compromise the claims of the Infants of La Cerda, on his undertaking to invade Arragon; but when it came to the ears of Alfonso III., Peter's son and successor, the indignant Arragonese prince set the infants free, and proclaimed the elder of them king of Castille and Leon, Sept. 1288. There was forthwith a rising of the malcontent lords in Sancho's kingdom.

In the year 1292, while Sancho was at war with the

³ Alfonso deemed his brother Frederic, who had returned from exile, and Ruiz, the chamberlain, to have been privy to the queen's escape; and put them to death without trial.

⁴ Violante was sent back to her husband, in the year 1278, and Blanche was allowed to return to France (see p. 329, note 1).

African Moors, his brother *John* also rebelled against him⁵. This was joy indeed to the Infidels, and they sent troops to the Infant, that he might lay siege to Tarifa, which they had just lost: but their hopes were baffled, as the heroic *Alfonso Gusman de Perez* would never yield the town—not even to save his captive son, whom they put to death before its walls.

Unhappily for Castille, a period of long minorities was about to begin. A lingering illness brought Sancho to his grave at the age of thirty-six, April 1295, when his eldest son was not yet ten years old⁶.

A. D. 1295. Ferdinand IV., the Summoned.

1296. Revolts of Don John and of Alfonso de la Cerda; inroads of the kings of Portugal, Arragon, and Grenada.

1305. Peace of Campillo.

1309. Gibraltar taken from the Moors.

1312. Death of Ferdinand the Summoned.

FERDINAND IV. was kept on his throne by *Mary de Molina*⁷, his mother and guardian. Before another year was over, his uncle, the Infant John, proclaimed himself king again at Leon, and Alfonso de la Cerda did the same at Sahagun; and while the Moorish king of Grenada ravaged Andalusia, *Dennis* of Portugal fell upon Castille, and James II. of Arragon seized Alicante and several places in Murcia. These dangers were boldly met; order was gradually restored; and at the close of years of strife,

⁵ He had been constantly refused the kingdom of Seville, bequeathed to him in a codicil of the late king's will.

⁶ The assassination of *Lope de Haro*, in the royal palace at Valladolid, is a foul blot upon the memory of Sancho.

⁷ The heiress of Molina and second wife of the late king, to whom she was also akin. Her marriage was confirmed by Boniface VIII., and her children legitimated, Sept. 1301, some years after her husband's death.

peace was even made with Arragon at Campillo, Aug. 1305, by the mediation of the king of Portugal himself, whose daughter had been married to Ferdinand⁸. It was settled in this congress of the three kings, that the Arragonese should retain what they had conquered; and that Alfonso de la Cerda should have certain towns and lands, and for ever drop the title of king of Castille⁹.

The war with the Moors was renewed in the year 1209, and Gibraltar was taken by Ferdinand. He died suddenly, Sept. 1312, leaving an infant son by his wife *Constance of Portugal*.—Two gentlemen whom, on suspicion of murder, he had sentenced without trial to be hurled down from a rock, were believed to have summoned this king to appear before the judgment seat of God within thirty days¹.

A. D. 1312. Alfonso XI.

1314. The Infants Peter and John regents.

1319. The two regents slain before Grenada.

1322. Death of Mary de Molina.

1324. Majority of Alfonso.

1327. Alfonso murders his cousin John.

1333. Gibraltar betrayed to the Moors.

1340. Defeat of the Moors at Rio Salado.

1344. Alfonso takes Algeziras.

1350. Siege of Gibraltar. Death of Alfonso.

ALFONSO XI.—a helpless child hardly thirteen months old—lay for a while at Avila, as the bishop and citizens would not yield him up to any of the factions which were now fiercely striving for the regency. Constance of Portugal dying, Nov. 1213, the surviving claimants came to a compromise in the following year: it was arranged that

⁸ Ferdinand's sister *Beatrice* was also married to the crown prince of Portugal, afterwards Alfonso IV.

⁹ This was the award of the kings of Arragon and Portugal, to whose arbitration the claims of Alfonso had been submitted.

¹ Hence he is called "Ferdinand the Summoned."

Mary de Molina should be entrusted with the care of her grandson, and that his uncle *Peter* and his great uncle John should be guardians of the kingdom. These two regents, though they did not agree very well together, were united in their deaths: for when the queen dowager got them to make up their quarrels and attack the Moors, they both of them fell, on the same day, in a disastrous fight before Grenada, June 1319. There was a fresh scramble for power, the evils of which became yet worse on the decease of Mary de Molina, June 1322. Wherever the guardians had authority, the people were heavily taxed; in other places, those who had the rule seized the king's rents, hired a body guard, and ground the poor; and throughout the land, the townsfolk and the peasants were pillaged by the nobles, and the roads were unsafe.

At length, in the year 1324, Alfonso, who was then fourteen, at the cortes of Valladolid declared himself to be of age. He governed, at first, by one of the factions, using it as a lever to overthrow the rest; nor did he shrink from deeds of the foulest treachery, such as the murder, at a feast in his own house, on All Saints' Day, Nov. 1327, of the Infant *John*, the lord of *Biscay*², his first cousin and his invited guest. But when he was strong enough to stand alone, he came out of his trammels as a great king; able to show mercy as well as to strike, keeping down the proudest of his grandees³, rescuing the lowly from their

² John's daughter was afterwards the wife of Ferdinand de la Cerda's son John Nunez de Lara; who also became lord of Biscay.

³ The Grandees in Castille, like the great vassals in Arragon, were called *Ricos Hombres*, a term in which the Gothic *ric* (*reikis*) rather denotes power than wealth. With the prelates, they were summoned to the cortes; and neither they nor the clergy paid taxes. Those who were raised to this rank were presented by the king with a banner and cauldron, or camp-kettle. Below them were the untitled gentry, the *Hidalgos* (from *hijo d'algo*, son of a somebody) or *Caballeros* (so styled,

exactions, and raising the condition of the towns⁴. He also, in the year 1328, fully acknowledged the rights of the cortes; binding himself not to raise any new tax without the grant of all the deputies, and ordaining that, on all great occasions, counsel should be taken of the three estates of his kingdoms⁵.

inasmuch as every man of property served in the cavalry); who also were subject to no other burthen than that of military service.

⁴ As early as the eleventh century, the towns, many of which were originally armed colonies to protect the newly won *estramadura*, or frontier, against the Infidels, obtained charters of privileges (*fueros*). They had their own laws, and justice was administered, not by the royal governor, but by elected judges (*Alcaldes*); and for these immunities the inhabitants were bound to certain money payments, and to military service under the governor and magistrates. On the plea that the popular elections were disorderly, the whole of the municipal administration was cunningly placed by Alfonso XI. in the hands of not usually more than twenty-four *Regidores*; who became a self-elected body and chose the *Alcaldes*, whose jurisdiction, and that which by royal grant was exercised by lords in the country, had already been encroached upon by the appointment of crown judges called *Corregidores*. From the lower courts there lay an appeal to the *Adelantado*, or governor of the province; and from him to the tribunal of the Royal *Alcaldes*. For civil appeals, a new court, styled the King's Audience, was created by the ordinances of Toro, in the year 1371.—Towns, as well as the nobles, would league together in an armed combination, termed *Hermanidad* (brotherhood), to uphold their rights against aggression, and for mutual defence against foreign invaders.

⁵ The cortes were summoned by writ, and were originally attended only by the prelates and chief nobles. But from the year 1188 at least, it is certain that the deputies of the towns were always present; whereas, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the two other orders, whose lands were not taxed and whose principal business was to petition against grievances, were summoned more and more irregularly. From the reign of Alfonso XI., the deputies of the towns were elected by the *Regidores*; and as the poorer places would often entrust their petitions to the delegates of some of their neighbours, the kings gradually claimed a right of de-

Having established his authority, Alfonso wisely turned the energy of his nobles against the Infidels ; in which war, not only the grateful commons, but even the clergy, notwithstanding their right of exemption, freely granted him aids. Gibraltar indeed was lost, in the year 1333, owing to the treachery of a governor who fled over into Africa ; yet the Moors of Grenada were so harassed at every point, that their sovereign went and threw himself at the feet of *Abdul Hassan*, the mighty king of Morocco, beseeching him for help. The Moslem hordes from Barbary crossed the straits once more, and encamped before Tarifa with a host of their Spanish brethren ; but the whole of that vast force was attacked and routed on the banks of the Salado, Oct. 1340, by Alfonso and the Christians under his banner, foremost among whom were *Alfonso the Brave* of Portugal, his father-in-law, and *Peter IV.* of Arragon. In the year 1344, the Moors, after a long struggle, yielded up Algeziras ; and at length Alfonso, to whom large supplies had been freely granted by the Cortes of Alcalá⁶, was on the eve of retaking Gibraltar, when on Good Friday, March 1350, he was cut off in the flower of his age, by the

ciding what cities should have votes. Notwithstanding this mischievous system, which was so abused by the unpopular John II. and Henry IV., that the number of the representative towns dwindled to seventeen (to which four votes were afterwards added), the commons steadfastly resisted arbitrary taxation and the attempts of the kings to make and dispense with laws ; nor was it until the days of Philip II. that the sovereign became really absolute.—During the interval of the cortes, almost every act of the king required the consent of what was called the Council of Castille, in which he sat thrice a week ; and in which, from the reign of Henry III., there also sat a deputation of four persons chosen by the cortes, to watch over the legality of its proceedings. Under Ferdinand and Isabella, judicial powers were added to this privy council.

⁶ In the year 1348.—In that assembly there was a strong dispute for precedence between the cities of Burgos and Toledo.

"Black Death," which was raging in his army. Even then an advantageous peace was made.

By his wife *Mary of Portugal*, the deceased king had left an heir to his throne, who was not more than fifteen. Both mother and son lived neglected in the palace at Seville, while *Leonora de Guzman*, a widow of illustrious family in that city, ruled as a mistress in the court with all the honours of a queen and wife. This woman, whose talents were of a high order, had grants of castles and royal domains; her kinsmen and friends held the chief offices in the state; her ten children, nine boys and one girl, whom she had borne Alfonso, were magnificently brought up and apanaged. Of these, the two eldest were the twin brothers *Don Henry* and *Don Frederic*; the former of whom had the princely title of Count with the lands of Trastamara, and the latter, when a mere boy, had been nominated Master of Santiago⁷. The third, *Don Tello*, was to be the husband of *Joanna*, the eldest daughter and heiress of the proud lord of Biscay, *Don John Nunez de Lara*, the Infant Ferdinand de la Cerda's son⁸; who for a while had been the leader of the discontented nobles, until the king besieged him in his castle of Lerma (A.D. 1335), and forced him to submission.

In this reign, the knights of the military orders were no longer free to choose their masters as they pleased; and at the Cortes of Alcala, in the year 1348, the code of Alfonso the Wise was fully established as the law of the land⁹.

A.D. 1350. Peter IV., the Cruel. Death of John de Lara.

1351. Leonora de Guzman put to death.

⁷ Leonora kept the seal of the order, as her son's guardian.

⁸ By his wife *Joanna de Lara*—see p. 422, note 2—whose name was borne by her son (as was often done in Spain).

⁹ About that time, Edward III. sent the king a present of English sheep; which was the origin of the famous Merino breed.

- A. D. 1353. Marriage with Blanche of Bourbon. Alburquerque disgraced.
1354. Civil war. Marriage with Joanna de Castro ; outbreak at Toledo.—Queen Mary betrays Toro ; Peter imprisoned.
1355. Peter reduces Toledo.
1356. Toro retaken.—First war with Arragon.
1358. Don Frederic murdered. Murder of the Infant John of Arragon in Biscay.
1359. Leonora of Arragon murdered.
1360. Battle of Najera.
1361. Peace with Arragon.—Death of Blanche and of Maria de Padilla.
1362. Murder of Abu Said.—Second war with Arragon.
1363. Treaty of Monzon ; death of the Infant Ferdinand of Arragon.
1366. Peter driven out by Henry of Trastamara. Treaty of Libourne.
1367. *Battle of Navarrete* ; Peter restored.—Henry returns and takes Burgos.
1368. Sieges of Cordova and Toledo.
1369. Battle of Montiel. Murder of Peter.

PETER IV., *the Cruel*, by the people called *the Justiciary*,—brought up by a vindictive and weak-minded woman ; initiated in treachery and murder by *Alburquerque*¹, his earliest minister ; having to deal with a set of faithless nobles, himself being without much sense either of honour or of religion,—was a falsehearted, lustful, and bloodthirsty king. Yet he was the friend of the oppressed classes : for his administration of justice was evenhanded, and most of the lords whom he destroyed were mischievous petty tyrants.

Hardly was the breath out of the body of Alfonso, than

¹ *John Alfonso de Alburquerque*, a Portuguese noble who also held lands in the Spanish kingdoms, had taken part with Alfonso XI. against John de Lara, and had become Grand Chancellor of Castille. His father was *Sanche*, the bastard son of Dennis of Portugal.

Leonora de Guzman fled to Medina Sidonia². No one would stand by her. Even John de Lara was willing to follow in the wake of the queen and of Alburquerque, his rival; and when Henry of Trastamara and his brother Frederic, and their kinsman *Peter Ponce*, the master of *Alcantara*, tried to raise a civil war, the attempt altogether broke down. Quite at a loss what to do, Leonora yielded up the stronghold into which she had gone for shelter, and only asked for a safe conduct to Seville: but there, although she was kept closely watched in the palace, she had the boldness and the cunning to bring about the marriage of Henry of Trastamara with *Joanna de Villena*, Lara's niece³, his betrothed; outwitting the young lady's half-brother, the lord of *Villena*, who would have given his sister to Don *Ferdinand*, the exiled Infant of Arragon⁴, or else to the king himself. The bridegroom escaped to the Asturias, leaving his mother to face the danger of discovery. Leonora was at once removed into a fortress by the enraged queen; and in the following spring, she was secretly put to death in the castle of Talavera⁵.

Peter had not been many weeks on the throne, when he became so ill that he was not expected to live. For a short time, all government was at a stand still; the great

² The modern dukes of Medina Sidonia are descended from *Guzman the Good*, of Tarifa, Leonora's ancestor.

³ Daughter of Lara's sister *Blanche*, the second wife of *John Manuel of Villena* (who was descended from *Emanuel*, the youngest son of St. Ferdinand).

⁴ *Ferdinand*, marquis of *Tortosa*, was the son of Alfonso IV. of Arragon by his second wife Leonora of Castille, the sister of Alfonso XI. He and his mother and his brother the Infant John were at feud with Peter IV. of Arragon, the son of the first wife.

⁵ Talavera is still called Talavera de la Reyna, in memory of the vindictive queen.

men seizing whatever they could lay hands upon, while John de Lara was preparing to get the crown for himself, in spite of Alburquerque and of the Infant of Arragon, whom the cortes had recognized as heir presumptive. The recovery of the king, and afterwards the sudden deaths of Lara himself at Burgos, Nov. 1350, and of Ferdinand, the lord of Villena⁶, quickly changed this state of things. Lara's vast domains were sequestered, even the faithful Biscayans laying down their arms on hearing of the untimely decease of his infant son *Núñez*; one of his chief adherents, the brave *García Lasso de la Vega*, was murdered in the palace of Burgos at Peter's bidding; and the last champion of the vanquished party, *Alfonso de Coronel*, who had revolted in Andalusia, was beheaded when his castle of Aguilar was stormed after a siege of four months, Feb. 1353.

Hitherto Alburquerque had not had much trouble in ruling a youthful prince, who seemed to care for little besides hunting and bodily exercises: he now lost his power over him by the very means which he had taken to strengthen it. A mistress whom he had introduced,—the sprightly *Maria de Padilla*, an orphan of a high-born but impoverished family, educated in his wife's household,—and her ambitious kinsmen⁷, had taught their youthful sovereign to act for himself; as was first shown at the previously concerted interview of Cigales, near Valladolid, in which Peter's half-brothers Henry of Trastámara and Don Tello, whom he had gone out with Alburquerque to attack, threw themselves at his feet, and were received into favour. Returning with the bastards and the astonished minister to

⁶ They seem to have died of the Black Plague.

⁷ These and the gay *Don John de Tenorio* (the *Don Juan* of the stage) were Peter's bosom friends.

Valladolid, June 1353, Peter solemnized with great pomp his marriage with *Blanche of Bourbon*^a, a fair and gentle French princess who had been chosen for him: but he forsook his bride, two days after the wedding, in spite of the tears and entreaties of his mother and of his aunt *Leonora*, the dowager queen of Arragon^b. Alburquerque undertook to bring him back; only to be openly disgraced. As he was drawing nigh to Toledo, where the king was, the Jew *Samuel Levi*, the treasurer, came out and bade him send away his armed followers; on which he halted, not daring to enter the city alone, and sullenly withdrew to one of his strongholds within the Portuguese border.

The fallen statesman, finding that his cause was not popular, and trembling for his vast wealth, did not revolt. He was fain to give hostages for his peaceful behaviour; his chancellorship was bestowed upon Don Ferdinand, the Infant of Arragon; and his staunch friend *John Nunes de Prado*, the master of *Calatrava*, was deposed and slain^c. *Diego de Padilla*, the brother of Maria, got the mastership of *Calatrava*; and the bastard Don Tello had leave to marry his affianced, the heiress of Lara, and to have Biscay and the rest of her father's sequestrated lands.

In the meanwhile, the unhappy queen *Blanche* had again been deserted by her cruel husband, on the third day of a visit which he had paid her to please his politic mistress. She was at first sent away with the queen-mother, to live

^a Daughter of Peter I., duke of Bourbon. But for the strong remonstrances of Alburquerque, Peter never would have gone to Valladolid to meet her.

^b The story that *Blanche* had been seduced by the bastard Don Frederic on the journey from France, is a groundless calumny. He was not one of the ambassadors who were sent to fetch her.

^c Don John de Prado had supplanted Don *Garcia Lopez de Padilla*; a circumstance which had caused a schism in the order, and which now perhaps decided his doom.

at Tordesillas ; but was soon separated from her companion, and mercilessly shut up within the walls of a castle. Just then, even Maria de Padilla seemed to have lost her hold on Peter ; and while she had thoughts of retiring into a nunnery, he had fallen in love with *Joanna de Castro*, a lady of noble house², the widow of Don *Diego de Haro*. The reckless tyrant married this woman, having gained over her kinsmen, and either bribed or frightened two bishops into receiving his secret information on oath that his union with Blanche was null and void ; after which, when his lust was sated, he quickly abandoned her.

The very day of this strange wedding, the tidings reached Peter, that his two bastard brothers Don Henry and Don Frederic had risen against him ; and that they had leagued themselves with Alburquerque, with whom he was again at feud³. They had been left to carry on the siege of the town of Alburquerque in Portugal (Alburquerque's chief lordship), which Peter had begun ; instead of which they had arrested *John de Villagera*⁴, their associate in the command, and had broken out into open rebellion⁵. Don Tello, not less ungrateful, had risen in Biscay ; in Galicia, Don *Ferdinand de Castro*, Joanna's brother, was also up in arms ; and at Toledo, whither *John de Hinestrosa*, Maria's uncle, had been ordered to remove Blanche of Bourbon, the inhabitants flocked together and rescued the queen. The revolt of so important a city drew other towns along with

² Agnes (*Inez*) de Castro was her (illegitimate) half sister.

³ Alburquerque's people had been provoked to break the treaty.

⁴ The bastard brother of Maria de Padilla. He escaped to the king ; who caused him to be elected Master of Santiago by some of the knights, in the room of Don Frederic, *although a married man*. This otherwise abortive election became a precedent.

⁵ They had proposed to give the kingdom to Peter, the crown prince of Portugal, as the grandson of Sancho IV. on his mother's side (see p. 421, note 8) ; but the king of Portugal would not hear of it.

it, and encouraged all the waverers among the grandees to declare themselves. Even the Infant Ferdinand of Arragon⁶, and his brother *John*⁷, and his mother Leonora, had the baseness to turn against their benefactor. The disheartened king could hardly keep six hundred horsemen with him.

The insurgents, notwithstanding their greater strength, dared not face their sovereign in the field, or besiege him: for the majesty of the throne was still respected. They had also the misfortune to lose Alburquerque; who died a few days after they had stormed Medina del Campo⁸, Oct. 1354, with his last breath bidding his retainers swear to avenge him, and to carry his body at their head while the war lasted⁹. All this time, Peter was hoping to divide the confederates, and would yield nothing. The treachery of his own mother, by whom the gates of Toro were opened to his foes, when he had gone out to visit his mistress, decided the struggle. Having no other town which he could enter, and no resources, he returned to Toro with John de Hinestrosa; and there, though not closely confined, he was kept as a prisoner under the charge of his half-brother the master of Santiago.

But the league had been injured by its very success. The commons in the towns looked sullenly upon the increased power of the grandees; moreover the Arragonese

⁶ The Infant Ferdinand had just married *Mary*, the daughter of the crown prince of Portugal.

⁷ The Infant John had just received from the king the hand of *Isabel de Lara*, the sister-in-law of Don Tello, and a grant of that rebel's lordships of Biscay and Lara.

⁸ *Paulo*, his Italian physician, was suspected of having poisoned him.

⁹ At all councils of the League, the corpse in its coffin was interrogated, and the Major-domo of the deceased gave answer.

Infants and their mother were become jealous of the bastards and their new brother-in-law Ferdinand de Castro¹. By the courage and address of the Jew Samuel Levi, whose financial skill also soon replenished his master's treasury, the Infants and their faction were gained over; and before the end of the year, Peter was enabled to escape from Toro to Segovia, when allowed to go out with his hawks on a foggy morning. Joined at Segovia by the Infants and by a great many lords, he went to Burgos to hold the cortes: there he was well received, notwithstanding an interdict under which the kingdom had just been laid on account of his bigamy (Jan. 1355)², and a supply was freely voted. In the spring, having gathered together an army, he marched to Toledo, where the Jews and other royalists were waiting to declare for him; and driving out his half-brothers Henry and Frederic, who had been beforehand with him and had surprised the city, he overpowered and punished his wife's adherents, and sent her away, under the charge of Hinestrosa, to be again imprisoned in a stronghold, May 1355. In the beginning of the next year, Jan. 1356, Toro fell into his hands after a long siege; the queen-mother yielding up the castle when she saw that the town was betrayed, and that Don Frederic had left her and gone over to the king³. She went forth, covered with the blood of three of the chieftains, and of *Martin Telho*, her Portuguese paramour, all of whom were brutally slain at her side; and betook herself, horror-

¹ He had lately married *Joanna de Guzman*, their sister; a union to which indeed they had reluctantly consented.

² The deputies of the clergy could not therefore attend the cortes.—Peter afterwards got rid of the interdict, by falsely informing the Pope that he was reconciled to his wife!

³ Hinestrosa, who had once been in his household, had warned him of his danger, just before the town was betrayed.

stricken, to her own country, where she died, twelve months afterwards, of a short illness⁴. Don Tello, like his brother, now eagerly sued for peace, as also did Ferdinand de Castro; the rest of the league dispersed; the count of Trastámara, who never had trusted his safety within walls, retired into France, and became a captain of free companions. The triumph of the youthful monarch and of his mistress was complete.

Deeming himself to have been faithlessly dealt with, and thirsting for vengeance, Peter never kept his word with the men whom he seemed to have forgiven. He was only biding his time. The fickle Infant Ferdinand, indeed, got out of the reach of the coming storm, as he had suddenly deserted back again to his elder brother the king of Arragon (Dec. 1357); but when it burst, the others were quite taken by surprise. First of all, in May 1358, Don Frederic was enticed into the royal palace at Seville, and murdered: then Peter hastened to Biscay, to seize Don Tello, who was just able to save his life by flight; and in June, under the poplar tree of Guernica, he was chosen by the Biscayans to be their lord, although he had no army with him. The Infant John, his weak and wicked accomplice, to whom he had promised the lordship, was next assassinated at Bilboa⁵; and Leonora of Arragon herself was arrested by Hinestrosa, and removed to a castle where before long she was put to death by some Moorish slaves. Don Tello's wife, Joanna de Lara, died in a dungeon at Seville, and was believed to have been poisoned; even the tyrant's two youngest half-brothers, *John* and *Peter de*

⁴ Her father, who was not pleased with her conduct, was thought to have had her poisoned.

⁵ The dead body of the murdered dupe was thrown out of the palace window, a voice crying out, "Biscayans, behold your lord!" His wife Isabel de Lara was immured with Blanche of Bourbon in the castle of Jerez.

Guzman, both of them mere lads, were slain in the fortress of Carmona, within which they had been kept prisoners from early childhood⁶. The noblest blood of Castille was shed with daily increasing recklessness: to be suspected was to be doomed; in such a case, the greatest services were not remembered for a moment. So found the Jew Samuel Levi, who had once saved his master from ruin, and had since made him the richest prince of his age. In the year 1361, when it was thought that he had hidden some of his treasures, he was stretched on the rack till he died; his only crime being his immense wealth.

Hitherto, while he slew the grandees and kept down the clergy, Peter had the people with him. It became otherwise when his wars with Arragon, which first began in the year 1356⁷, made him lay on heavy taxes, and compel the militia of the towns to serve far away from their walls and homes: his popularity quickly fell, and his power no longer stood sure. This was seen by the shrewd king, his adversary; who at once gave a rallying point to disaffection, by calling Henry of Trastamara out of France, to be the leader of the exiles, and letting him loose against Castille. In one of these forays, the count and Don Tello routed a superior force in the plain of Araviana, and Hinestrosa was killed; but when the next spring came round, Peter had his revenge, as he himself put Don Henry and his brother Sancho to flight, in a battle near Najera, April 1360. The first part of the contest was brought to a close, in May 1361, by a peace, much in favour of Arragon, which restored all conquests, and allowed most of the Castillian emigrants to return to their country. From this

⁶ This happened in the fall of the year 1359.

⁷ During the first war, the Infant Ferdinand went over to the king of Arragon, Dec. 1357; and Peter, with a large fleet, attacked Barcelona, June 1359, and was repulsed.

amnesty the Infant Ferdinand and the count of Trastamara were excluded.

It was the dread of a league between the Arragonese and the Moors of Grenada, which had induced Peter to sign this treaty. *Abu Said*¹, the usurper of the throne of Grenada, now left without an ally, and hated as a tyrant, had to stand the outburst of his vengeance. Knowing that a crusade would be utter destruction, that trembling despot, even when gleams of success might have rekindled his hopes, thought only of submission: he released Diego de Padilla, whom his troops had taken prisoner; and at a later stage of the contest, he went with a large train and much treasure to Seville, April 1362, and yielded himself up, as a tributary of Castille, to the justice of his ruthless lord. All seemed to be quite safe, when suddenly he and his followers were arrested at a feast, robbed of their rich jewels², and cast into dungeons to await their doom. Two days after, the unhappy sultan and thirty-seven of his emirs were led forth into an open field outside the city, tied to stakes, and pierced through and through with darts, thrown at them by horsemen running at full speed³. Peter, who is said to have hurled the first javelin, then gave Grenada to Mahomet, the expelled king, from thenceforth his firm friend.

While this war was just beginning, poor Blanche of Bourbon had died in the castle of Jerez de la Frontera²: her age was not more than twenty-five years, ten of which

¹ Also known as *Abu Abdalla* and *Rufus*.

² A huge ruby, one of Abu Said's gems, was given by Peter to the Black Prince. It now adorns the crown of England.

³ Just as in a "*juego de cañas*," or playing at *jerreed*; an Eastern sport which the Spanish Christians had learned from the Moslems.

² Her death, in a sickly year, ought not to be attributed to foul play (as was loudly asserted by her French kinsmen).

had been passed in a prison. She was speedily followed in death, July 1361, by her frail, yet kind-hearted rival, Maria de Padilla, for whom Peter, though he often had other mistresses, still felt the most passionate love. It was strangely shown afterwards, at the time of the affair of Abu Said, when he solemnly declared before the cortes of Seville, that the late queen had never been his lawful wife; that before she was yet in Spain, he had secretly married Maria de Padilla, in the presence of Hinestrosa and three other witnesses³. These three having come forward, and laid their hands on the Gospels, he presented Maria's son *Alfonso* as his heir; causing him to receive the oaths of the nobles and of the delegates of the towns. Her body was also transported, with great pomp, to the royal sepulchre at Seville.

At the fall of the year, Oct. 1362, the Black Plague having broken out again, the court was suddenly filled with mourning by the death of the child Alfonso. The bereaved king then made a will in which his three daughters by Maria—*Beatrice*, *Constance*, and *Isabel*—were named in succession as heiresses of the crown⁴. When dead, he was to be buried, in the dress of a Franciscan, between her whom he called his wife, and his only son.

Some time before, early in June 1362, the war with Arragon had already been renewed. Leagued with Charles the Bad, king of Navarre,—an ally whom he did not keep

³ The keeper of the privy seal, the king's chaplain, and Diego de Padilla; all of whom were held to be men of honour. Yet the whole thing is a palpable imitation of what had been lately done by Peter of Portugal for the memory and remains of Agnes de Castro.

⁴ After these he names a son by a mother who is also designated;—perhaps *Ferdinand*, his child by *Maria de Hinestrosa*. The names as they stand—"John," and "Joanna de Castro"—are the alterations of some unskilful forger. That Peter had a son by Joanna de Castro, is very doubtful.

long⁵,—and with *Peter I.* of Portugal, from whom he had some troops, Peter fiercely assailed his old enemies on several points; and during the next and the two following years, he overran and ravaged Valencia. Successful in sieges, he took Alicante and other important towns; but as he mistrusted his own soldiers, he more than once fell back, rather than risk a pitched battle with the king of Arragon⁶. He knew too well that he was only obeyed from fear.

Most unhappily for him, Henry of Trastamara, who had again found a refuge in France, had bethought himself of enlisting in his cause the free companies of disbanded knights and men-at-arms, by which that kingdom was laid waste. Encouraged in this design by *Charles the Wise*, who was eager to get rid of a swarm of pestilent freebooters, and wanted besides to avenge the wrongs of Blanche of Bourbon, his wife's sister; the enterprising count returned to Spain, and made a series of treaties with Peter of Arragon,—the first was signed at Monzon, March 1363,—and likewise with the king of Navarre, in which he secretly agreed to the dismemberment of Castille, if they would help him to conquer it. To his dismay indeed, his brothers Tello and Sancho, and most of the Castillian emigrants, disliking the admission of foreigners into Spain, went and ranged themselves under the banner of the Infant Ferdinand; who now threatened to withdraw with all his lances from the service of Arragon. The treacherous

⁵ He was gained over by the king of Arragon, at a secret interview in the castle of Uncastillo, Aug. 1363.

⁶ Once, when urged to fight by his captains (as he was eating some bread), he answered that, if he had for his vassals men like those of the king of Arragon, he would fearlessly fight against all Spain. "But," said he, "with this piece of bread I could feed all the loyal subjects I have throughout Castille."

murder of the Infant at Castellon, July 1363⁷, put an end to the strife, and removed a rival pretender out of the way.

At length, as the year 1366 was opening, the bandits of the White Company⁸—about twelve thousand knights and men-at-arms, one-third of them English and Gascons under Sir *Hugh de Calverley*—were led by the great *Bertrand du Guesclin* over the Pyrenees, through the passes of Navarre; to help that “good lance,” their old comrade count Henry; and to enrich themselves by a crusade against the friend of Jews and Moslems, “the wicked king Peter, who was half a pagan.” After a short stay in Arragon, where they could not be kept from pillage although Peter IV., who had melted the church plate and sold his own lands, gave them a considerable subsidy; in the month of March, they entered Castille with their allies, and at Calahorra, which opened its gates, the crown was placed on the head of Henry, and his royal standard unfurled. Town after town was won without striking a blow; every where the nobles⁹ and the people thronged to welcome the new king; and as the tide of invasion flowed on, the tyrant whom it threatened, unable to trust a soul, fled affrighted from Burgos, his head quarters, to Toledo, and

⁷ Invited thither to an interview with his brother the king of Arragon, he was roused from his afternoon sleep, and told that he was a prisoner. Drawing his sword, he refused to surrender; on which Henry of Trastamara rushed in with some of his followers, and overcame and slew him.

⁸ Even before they put on their white crosses, the “*Routiers*” (the disbanded soldiers) were called White Companions, because they wore plate armour (*armes blanches* in old French).

⁹ Diego de Padilla went over. He was false to his new king Peter returned; and being then deposed from his mas- afterwards died in prison.

from Toledo to Seville, and from Seville into Portugal.—At Seville, he had to leave his palace by stealth; the citizens having risen against him, as they hated and dreaded the Moors of Grenada, his only faithful allies.

Flushed with success, and crowned with great pomp at Burgos, the bastard rewarded his followers, and gained fresh adherents, by giving titles and estates with a lavish hand¹. The vast treasures seized at Burgos and at Seville, and the proceeds of heavy taxes laid on the Jews, were distributed among the adventurers; a large portion of whom were now dismissed, and had to fight their way home. A wonderful display of reverence for religion won the hearts of the clergy; the immorality of so zealous a prince being readily overlooked. He speedily became master of the rest of the dominions which had been the birthright of his profane brother; all but Galicia, which Ferdinand de Castro still held for his rightful lord.

When Peter had reached Portugal in his flight, the king, his close ally, would not harbour him. The Infanta Beatrice, who had come thither before her father with money and jewels, and with the dower which she was to bring the crown-prince *Ferdinand*, her betrothed, was scornfully sent back; and it was only after humble entreaty, that a passage through the kingdom and an escort were grudgingly given to the outcast sovereign of Castille and his three daughters. At the end of two months, the wanderers

¹ The titles of count and marquis, *hitherto confined to the royal family*, were given to several nobles, and even to Du Guesclin and Calverley.—Don Sancho had the rich inheritance which had escheated to the crown on the death of Alburquerque's son, and Don Tello recovered Biscay, although his wife was now dead. This prince, to disarm the opposition of the Biscayans, got a woman from Seville to personate his deceased and childless wife, and lived with her for some months.

entered Galicia, and were right loyally welcomed². Peter then created Ferdinand de Castro count of Lemos; and leaving him to make head against the pretender,—a trust which was fulfilled by the spirited defence of Lugo,—he embarked at Corunna, and crossed over to Bayonne, in search of aid from his English allies in Aquitaine.

The cause of a king dethroned by his nobles and by French policy, was warmly taken up by Edward the Black Prince, then ruling, in his brilliant court at Bordeaux, over his father's continental dominions. In a few weeks, treaties with England and with the king of Navarre were concluded at Libourne, Sept. 1366, in which Peter, to whom promises cost nothing, readily pledged himself to the terms of his interested allies: he was to reward them with an immense contribution³, and with large shares of the Basque provinces⁴; and his daughters—the two youngest of whom were eventually married to English princes⁵—were to be left in Guienne as hostages. To please the Black Prince, who advanced him money for the war, he swore that he would show mercy to his rebellious vassals.

Henry, on his side, was not idle. He filled his emptied treasury by an excise on the price of things sold, which was freely granted him at the cortes of Burgos; he managed to evade his engagement to give up part of his

² Even there, the vindictive Peter lost several adherents by the assassination of Don Suero, the archbishop of *Santiago*, June 1366.

³ Edward was to have 550,000 golden florins of *Florentine* coinage for himself; and 56,000 more, which he had paid in advance to the king of Navarre.

⁴ Peter knew enough of the Basque customs to be well aware that he had no power to make such a cession. The Black Prince had long coveted the coast of Biscay and its fine harbours.

⁵ Constance and Isabel were married to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, and Edmund, duke of York, the Black Prince's brothers—Beatrice died young and unmarried.

territories to the king of Arragon, whose daughter *Leonora* was in his family as the affianced of his son; and at a secret conference with the king of Navarre, whom he tempted with great offers, he sought to counteract the treaty of Libourne, and still to close the passes against the invaders. Charles the Bad, who always loved to play a double game, took his money⁶, and swore on the Gospels to do as he wished, and even to uphold him "with his own body in the battle field:" but when the time came to keep his word, he bribed a Breton knight in the service of Du Guesclin⁷ to seize him as he was hunting on the Arragonese frontier, so that he might remain quite neutral.

In the mean while, the Black Prince had called to his standard Sir Hugh de Calverley and the other English and Gascon freebooters; and by the end of January, he had set in motion an army of 30,000 men, whom he led into Spain by the pass of Roncesvalles, through the heavy snows of a hard winter. With troops more than twice that number, Henry of Trastamara had posted himself on the ridges at the north of Old Castille, to cover the road to Burgos, and to cut off the enemy's foragers with his light cavalry⁸;—thus forcing the invading host to fall back towards Logrono for want of food, and take a longer circuit;—yet he dared not stay on the defensive, though Du Guesclin warned him that the English were invincible in a pitched battle: he knew that any appearance of weakness

⁶ 60,000 doubloons.—Alava and part of Guipuzcoa were also promised him.

⁷ *Oliver de Mauny*, whom, when he was released, the treacherous king invited to Tudela, and there imprisoned until he agreed to give up the promised ransom!

⁸ Except the military knights, the Spanish cavalry were chiefly "genetours" in coats of mail, riding on light horses (jennets), and throwing javelins. The infantry wore round bucklers, and fought with darts and slings.

would encourage all the disaffected towns to revolt. Pushing forward to Najera, he boldly attacked the Black Prince near the village of Navarrette, April 1367, and met with a signal overthrow; he himself hardly escaping alive, and Du Guesclin and Don Sancho being among the prisoners. Beaten without resource, he fled through Arragon and across the mountains into France⁹, while Peter marched on to Burgos and was again the sovereign of Castille.

The ingratitude, the cruelty, and the bad faith of Peter had already begun to lose him the support of his new friends. Their indignation rose to the highest pitch when they found that he was neither able nor willing to fulfil his engagements. With an army quickly wasted to one-fifth by inactivity and sickness¹, weary, impoverished, broken in health, and miserably duped, the Black Prince withdrew from Castille, leaving every thing in confusion. The tyrant, now that he was alone and unchecked, sought to strengthen his rule by means of bloody executions wherever he went; but he only became the more hated.

The departure of the English was joyful tidings indeed to Henry of Trastamara. With money secretly given by the king of France, he bought arms and horses, and ransomed prisoners; and about the middle of August, he set out once more for Spain, with *Bernard de Foix*, the Bastard of Béarn², and about four hundred lances³. Hurry-

⁹ He was guided through the mountain passes by Peter de Luna (afterwards the antipope Benedict XIII.).—His wife and the Infanta Leonora escaped to Arragon, and were ill received by the sally Peter the Cereimonious; but the nobles befriended them.

¹ The hot wines and the burning sun of Castille had done sad havoc with men who had been weakened by cold, privation, and fatigue.

² Afterwards created duke of *Medina Celi*, on his marriage with Isabel de la Cerda, the granddaughter and representative of Alfonso de la Cerda; his bride having previously renounced all claim to the crown.—He was a son of Gaston III., count of Foix.

³ The lance included the knight and his men-at-arms.

ing through Arragon and part of Navarre, he passed into Castille over the Ebro ; on the right bank of which river, he drew a cross upon the sand, and swore that he would never again leave the kingdom alive. He stopped at Calahorra, to receive the volunteers who hopefully flocked to his standard ; then he marched on to Burgos, where he had only to reduce the Jewry and the castle, as the citizens came out from their gates to meet him on his way. The insurrection now spread through all the northern provinces but Galicia, which was under Ferdinand de Castro ; and even in the South, the ominous revolt of Cordova made Peter tremble for the allegiance of Seville. Early in the spring, April 1368, Leon fell, and Toledo was invested. There, however, the strength of the place and the stedfastness of the garrison and the inhabitants, especially the Jews, baffled every attack ; so that the besiegers had to try and do their work by means of famine⁴.

Cordova having withstood Peter and the whole force of the king of Grenada, the Moors had been let loose upon the disaffected in Andalusia, carrying fire and sword to the very gates of Seville. This did no good to the royal cause, which was indeed about to be brought into the utmost danger. When the winter came round, Du Guesclin, then allowed to be ransomed, had been sent by the French king with six hundred lances into Spain.

Urged by honour and policy, Peter, in the month of

⁴ Some mischief was also done to Henry in the Basque country, by the base and envious Don Tello ; who, having become suspected by his brother, had induced the loyalist towns rather to surrender themselves to the king of Navarre than to him (contrary to the noble advice of Peter himself).—Tello died in Galicia, Oct. 1370, poisoned, it was thought, by his brother's physician ; after which the lordship of Biscay was given to the crown-prince, on whose accession as John I., May 1379, it was united to the domain.

March 1369, gathered together what troops he could, and went up to relieve Toledo. Reinforced on his way by Ferdinand de Castro, he encamped near Montiel; and there he was surprised at daybreak by Du Guesclin and Henry, and his army was broken and scattered. He fled into the castle, and was closely beset for ten days, until food and water began to fail him; on which he tried to gain over Du Guesclin by secret offers, and was enticed into that cunning chieftain's camp⁵. Thither he came in the night, with a few followers: but instead of being helped to escape, he was surrounded and led into a tent, into which his brother Henry entered, armed at all points, and grossly insulted him⁶. Too near to draw their long swords in a crowded tent, the brothers rushed upon each other, and struggled till they fell down together; Peter, the taller and the stronger man, keeping uppermost. He was looking for a weapon, when one of the knights threw him on one side; and thus Henry was enabled to pick up his own dagger, and to stab him again and again. The dying king let go his hold, and was dispatched by some of the bystanders; after which his head was cut off, and sent to Seville⁷.

So perished Peter the Cruel, in the thirty-sixth year of his age.

⁵ Du Guesclin's French comrades encouraged their leader in this unworthy deception.

⁶ "Where is this bastard," said he, "this Jew, who calls himself king of Castille!" "Yes, it is I," answered Peter, "I the king of Castille. All the world knows that I am the legitimate son of the good king Alfonso, and that thou art the bastard!" Henry then drew his dagger, and struck him lightly on the face.

⁷ The knights released Ferdinand de Castro, whom they had also seized. He then headed a revolt in Galicia, and afterwards died an exile in France.

A. D. 1369. Henry II.

1379. Death of Henry II.

HENRY II., *the Magnificent*,—notwithstanding the claims put forth by the kings of Portugal, Arragon, and Navarre; and also by *John of Gaunt*, duke of *Lancaster*, who, in right of his second wife Constance, Peter's daughter, took the title of king of Castille,—sat firmly on the throne which he had usurped. The bloody rule of his brother had decimated the nobles, much to the advantage of the commons and of the crown; and by the cession of the countess of *Medina Celi*^s, his queen Joanna was held to be the representative of the house of La Cerda. He died much lamented, May 1379.

A. D. 1379. John I.

1384. Portugal invaded; siege of Lisbon.

1385. Battle of Aljubarrota.

1386. John of Gaunt invades Galicia.

1387. Treaty of Bayonne.

1388. The crown prince created "Prince of the Asturias."

1390. Death of John I.

JOHN I., lord of Biscay, the late king's son, was crowned at Burgos with his wife Leonora of Arragon. Leonora dying (Aug. 1382), he married *Beatrice*, the only daughter of *Ferdinand* of Portugal, May 1383; but on the decease of his father-in-law, five months afterwards, he failed to get the kingdom which had been promised him as the inheritance of his bride. His first invasion of Portugal, in the year 1384, ended in his having to raise the siege of Lisbon; in his next attempt, he and his troops were ingloriously routed at Aljubarrota, Aug. 1385.

The new king of Portugal, the bastard *John the Great*, now became the sworn ally of John of Gaunt, whose eldest

^s *Isabel*, daughter of Lewis de la Cerda, Alfonso's son (see p. 442, note 2). Her brother *John* had been one of Peter's victims.

daughter *Philippa*⁹ was betrothed to him. The English duke landed in Galicia, in the year 1386, and took several towns; but before another twelvemonth was over, he agreed at Bayonne to make peace with Castille, on condition that *Catherine*, his child by Constance, should be affianced to the crown-prince *Henry*. Thus was a troublesome claim got rid of for ever.

John I. died in the thirty-third year of his age, of a fall from his horse at a sort of sham fight at Alcala, Oct. 1390. He left two sons by Leonora of Arragon, Henry, the first Prince of the Asturias¹, his successor, and the Infant *Ferdinand*; the latter of whom married *Leonora of Alburquerque*, the rich heiress of Don Sancho, and eventually became king of Arragon.

A. D. 1390. Henry III., the Sickly.

1393. Henry marries Catherine of Lancaster.

1406. Death of Henry.

HENRY III., *the Sickly*, being not more than eleven years old at his accession, Castille was for a time convulsed by the struggles of the great lords for the regency. But before he was quite fourteen, he seized upon the reins of government, and married Catherine of Lancaster; ruling well and wisely, reforming abuses, and recovering much of the lost property of the crown. His country, however, lost him early, when it was on the eve of a Moorish war. He died at the age of twenty-six, Dec. 1406.

A. D. 1406. John II.—Queen Catherine and the Infant Ferdinand regents.

1412. Ferdinand elected king of Arragon.

⁹ She was the daughter of John of Gaunt by *Blanche of Lancaster*, his first wife.

¹ This title—imitated from our princes of Wales—was given him in the year 1388, to be afterwards borne by the eldest sons of the Castilian kings.

- A. D. 1418. Death of Catherine.
 1420. The Infant Henry of Arragon seizes the king.
 1422. The Infant Henry imprisoned.
 1425. The Infant Henry released.—The Infant John becomes king of Navarre.
 1427. Alvaro de Luna driven from court.
 1428. Alvaro returns to court.
 1431. Defeat of the Moors at Figueras.
 1434. Frederic, count of Luna, put to death.
 1436. Peace of Toledo.
 1439. Alvaro again driven from court.
 1441. The king seized at Medina del Campo by the enemies of Alvaro.
 1445. Battle of Olmedo.
 1453. Fall of Alvaro de Luna.
 1454. Death of John II.

JOHN II., when hardly yet fifteen months old, was crowned at Segovia, Jan. 1407 ; his uncle Ferdinand having generously refused to be made king. Ferdinand shared the regency with the queen mother, and successfully carried on the war with Grenada : but after his election to the kingdom of Arragon, Catherine was left to govern alone ; which she did fairly enough, though somewhat lazy, and given to drinking. By the time of her decease,—she was found dead in her bed, June 1418²,—her son, whom she had foolishly brought up in seclusion, was thought to be able to reign by himself.

Accomplished, fond of letters, which flourished greatly under his patronage, and passionately loving gay amusements, John II. hated business, and was the weak slave of *Alvaro de Luna*, his bold, haughty, rapacious favourite³;

² The suddenness of her death awakened suspicions which seem to have been groundless.

³ Alvaro de Luna resembled Wolsey in his love of magnificence, Strafford in his unflinching energy, and both of them in his disregard of constitutional right.

who by his indomitable energy kept his hold upon him for five and thirty years, in spite of many troubles and of many enemies. Foremost among these were the two Infants of Arragon, John, afterwards king of Navarre, and *Henry*, the master of Santiago, both of whom had large estates in Castille, which had belonged to Ferdinand, their father. Their eldest brother, *Alfonso V.*, of Arragon, had married the young king's elder sister, *Mary of Castille*; and the young king himself was the husband of *Mary*, another of his Arragonesse first cousins.

The very year in which John II. married Mary of Arragon (in June 1420), he fell into the power of the Infant Henry, and was forced to give him the hand of his younger sister *Catherine*, with the marquisate of Villena for her dower⁴. But he escaped from thralldom, in November, with the help of Alvaro; the nobles and even the Infant John sided with him; and Henry was persuaded by his mother to disband his troops, and some time afterwards, June 1422, was in his turn arrested at Madrid, where the king was holding the cortes. Sentenced to forfeiture on a charge of treasonable correspondence with the Moors, the luckless prince languished in prison three years, and was only set free when an invasion was threatened by the king of Arragon, his brother. He withdrew to the court of the Infant John, who had just ascended the throne of Navarre (Sept. 1425).

The insolence of Alvaro de Luna was greater than ever. Raised to be count of St. Stephen de Gormaz and constable of Castille⁵, he gave himself such lordly airs, that a league

⁴ This was afterwards confiscated. It was then given to the family of Pacheco.

⁵ This office had been taken from *Roderio Lopez D'Avalos*, one of the Infant's leading partisans, the ancestor of the marquises of Pescara and other noble families.

was formed against him by the Infants of Arragon and some of the *grandees*; and in the beginning of the year 1427, the king was obliged to banish him from his presence for eighteen months. The confusion, however, into which every thing fell for want of a strong hand to keep order, led to the recall of the favourite by his helpless master, before two-thirds of the time had elapsed; then followed another struggle, for about three years, in which Henry was worsted, notwithstanding the help given to him by his brothers. The courage of the king was even raised to attack the Moors, then distracted with civil wars, and to win a glorious battle at Figueras near Grenada, June 1431⁶. With Navarre and Arragon, a treaty of peace was at length concluded at Toledo, Nov. 1436; the heir of Castille, Henry, the dissolute prince of the Asturias, betrothing himself to Blanche of Navarre, the eldest daughter of king John.—They were married at Valladolid, Sept. 1440; but about twelve years afterwards (A.D. 1453), just before Henry succeeded to the crown, the ill-assorted tie was broken, and Blanche was sent home a divorced wife⁷.

In the year 1439, Alvaro de Luna was again driven from court for six months, and Don Henry of Arragon was re-installed in the mastership of Santiago. Encouraged by this success, the malcontents kept up their cabals, even enlisting the prince of the Asturias on their side; and in the year 1441, they surprised and took the king at Medina del Campo, and made him banish the constable for no less

⁶ During this war, in which another victory was gained at Guadix (Sept. 1436), Frederic, count of Luna, the bastard son of Martin, king of Sicily,—a true Catiline, utterly profligate and deeply in debt,—formed a plot to seize the rich city of Seville. On its being discovered, he was executed in prison, A.D. 1434.

⁷ The marriage was ridiculously dissolved, on the ground “of mutual impotence, caused by some malign influence.”

than six years⁸. Three of these were not completed, when, with his usual good fortune, the obnoxious minister was restored to power at the request of the prince of the Asturias himself; on which arose a fierce struggle with Don Henry and his brother the king of Navarre, which was decided on the bloody field of Olmedo, where Don Henry was mortally wounded, May 1445. The victorious sovereign of Castile then gave the mastership of Santiago to the staunch adherent who had shown him how to conquer.

Yet much as John II. had suffered for the sake of his favourite, his love was not proof against the jealousy which weak men so often feel, when under the rule of stronger minds. Indeed he was hardly allowed to have a will of his own. He wanted to marry a French princess, after the death of his Arragonese wife⁹; but having been told by Alvaro that he was betrothed to *Isabella of Portugal*, a granddaughter of John the Great¹, he meekly let himself be led to the altar with the woman whom he was bidden to take, August 1447. The new queen, instead of being thankful to her friend, could not brook his haughty demeanour, and did her utmost to set her husband against him. The storm which had thus been slowly gathering, burst suddenly. In April 1453, Alvaro de Luna was arrested at Carthagena, though not without a promise that no harm would be done to him; the next step was to appoint a mixed commission of jurists and privy councillors, who summarily tried him on a number of vague charges, and doomed him to the penalties of high treason.

⁸ He had escaped in disguise when the king was seized.

⁹ Mary of Arragon died in the year 1447.—The French princess for whom proposals were sent, was *Radigunda*, daughter of Charles VII.

¹ Isabella's father was the Infant John, the Constable of Portugal, John the Great's youngest son.

Beheaded at Valladolid, July 1453, he died with that courage which had never failed him. He was a man of noble qualities, but a dangerous minister²: he taught the king to violate the rights of the commons, by silencing the voice of their delegates in the royal council, by packing the cortes, by attempts to impose taxes, and by oppressive and illegal proclamations. These evil lessons were not lost upon John's worthless successor.

John himself did not long outlive the able statesman whom he had weakly sacrificed³, and for whose loss he was afterwards seen to weep bitterly. On his death-bed, July 1454, he lamented that he had not been born the son of a mechanic, instead of being king of Castille.—Besides the prince of the Asturias, he left two children, both of whom were by his second wife; the Infant *Alfonso*, and the Infanta *Isabella*. The latter was born at Madrigal, April 1451.

A. D. 1454. Henry IV.

1459. League of the nobles against the king.

1461. War with Arragon.

1462. Birth of Joanna.—Gibraltar retaken from the Moors.

1463. Conference on the Bidassoa.

1464. Outbreak at Madrid.

1465. Assembly at Avila; the Infant Alfonso proclaimed king by the rebels.

1466. Death of the Master of Calatrava.

² Alvaro de Luna was the bastard of a noble house in Arragon, and originally a page in the royal household. He could ride, fence, dance, and sing with consummate skill; he had a most winning address; and was ready, bold, and indefatigable in business. So many were the nobles and knights in his train, that the king's court was comparatively deserted; so great was the amount of treasures which he had accumulated, that he was thought to possess more wealth than all the grandees of the kingdom put together.

³ Indeed he had twice recalled the constable's death-warrant, before the queen could get him to have it executed.

A.D. 1467. Battle near Olmedo.

1468. Death of Alfonso; recognition of Isabella's rights at
Toros de Guisandos.

1469. Isabella marries Ferdinand of Arragon.

1470. Joanna's claims revived.

1474. Interviews at Segovia.—Death of Henry IV.

HENRY IV., the *Impotent*, was a good-natured pleasure-loving prodigal, who had early wasted his strength by licentiousness. For a short time, his magnificent style of living, his open-handed liberality⁴, his affable ways, his chivalrous proclamation of a crusade against the Moors, readily won all hearts: but there was a great change of feeling, when the people were illegally burthened to pay for his extravagance⁵, while the roads were infested by unruly nobles who could rob with impunity, and armies of thirty or forty thousand men were repeatedly led back from Grenada, after plundering forays in which not a battle was risked, not a town was taken⁶. It was seen that he was wholly governed by *John de Pacheco*⁷, who had lately been

⁴ "Kings," said he to his prudent treasurer, "instead of hoarding treasure, should dispense it for the happiness of their subjects.—We must give to our enemies, to make them friends; and to our friends, to keep them so."

⁵ Besides arbitrary taxes and repeated alienations of the property of the towns, there was the grievance of a shamelessly debased coinage, which ruined trade and enhanced the price of food. Instead of five royal mints, there were one hundred and fifty places where base money was struck.

⁶ Henry would say that "he prized the life of one of his soldiers more than those of a thousand Moslems." His southern subjects complained with reason, that the war was carried on against them, not against the Infidel.—In the year 1462, however, Gibraltar was surprised and retaken.

⁷ John de Pacheco was of noble Portuguese extraction, and had been a page of Alvaro de Luna; who had introduced him into Henry's household. John II. created him marquis of Villena.

created marquis of *Villena*, the restless and intriguing nephew of the fierce *Alfonso Carillo*, archbishop of *Toledo*; and he was speedily dragged down to yet lower depths of contempt by his marriage, in May 1455, with *Joanna*, the sister of *Alfonso V.* of Portugal, a fair, witty, lively princess, quite as dissolute as himself⁸, whose handsome lover, *Bertrand de la Cueva*, actually became his bosom friend.

Discontent being rife, cabals were formed by the nobles, in the year 1459, which were supported by John of Navarre, now also king of Arragon. Henry therefore, in the year 1461, the more readily took the part of Charles, prince of Viana, against his father; invading Navarre, and sending men and money to help the insurgents in Catalonia. He even made some important conquests⁹: but these he gave up, when, by the advice of the marquis of Villena, he submitted to the award of Lewis XI. of France; whom he went to meet on the French side of the Bidassoa, not far from Bayonne, April 1463¹. Loud indeed was the

⁸ Henry took one of the maids of honour for his mistress, and kept her in such royal state, that her court rivalled that of the queen.—Another mistress, *Catherine Sandoval*, who had been unfaithful, was provided for by placing her at the head of a convent at Toledo; the abbess, a lady of noble birth and spotless life, having been expelled on the pretence that the discipline of the house was lax.

⁹ A fruitless cession of Navarre was also made him by his former wife Blanche, after the death of the prince of Viana, when she was about to be handed over by her father into the power of the countess of Foix.

¹ This greatly offended the pride of the Castillians. Their dislike of the French was also much heightened by this interview, as the magnificence which they themselves and their king displayed was sneered at by Lewis and his courtiers, who were very shabbily dressed.—Although the award of Lewis was not unjust (in fact it pleased neither party), it could not but be suspected, as he had lately become the close ally of John II.

outcry raised at such a treaty ; the marquis and his uncle the archbishop, already believed to have been the pensioners of Lewis, were openly accused of having sold the honour of their country. They were dismissed from court in disgrace, much to the joy of Bertrand and the queen.

But the statesmen thus discarded, though unpopular, were powerful. They organized at Avila a formidable league of the malcontents ; there was next an outbreak at Madrid, and a daring attempt of the marquis to seize the king in his palace at Segovia (A.D. 1464) ; and on the failure of another plot, the confederates gathered together at Burgos, and drew up a statement of grievances, also pledging themselves not to do any service for their sovereign until these wrongs were redressed. They declared in it that the oaths of fealty were null and void, which they had sworn to *Joanna*, a child borne by the queen, in the beginning of the year 1462, of which Bertrand was thought to be the father² ; the evil rule of the paramour himself, who had just been made master of Santiago, was likewise denounced ; and it was demanded that the Infant Alfonso should be acknowledged as heir to the kingdom, and entrusted to their keeping. When this was read to Henry at Valladolid, instead of behaving with decision as his best friends wished, he temporized. Meeting the marquis of Villena in the open field near Cigales, he agreed to depose Bertrand from the mastership³ ; to give up Alfonso into their hands ; and to join in naming five commissioners, with full powers to reform abuses. This body he found to be so dangerous to his authority, that he soon disavowed its proceedings, having vainly tried to arrest its members.

² The child was called by the people *Beltraneja*, from *Beltran* (Bertrand) its supposed father.

³ By way of compensation, he now made him duke of Alburquerque.

At this breach of faith, as it was deemed, the league rose in arms. There was a great assembly held in the plain near Avila, June 1465 ; and in the midst of it was a high scaffold, on which, in a chair of state, the effigy of Henry was placed to undergo a mock sentence of degradation. The archbishop of Toledo tore off the crown from its head ; the marquis of Villena plucked the sceptre from its hand ; other grandees took away the sword and the rest of the royal ornaments ; after which the dishonoured image was rolled down in the dust, and the boy Alfonso, then eleven years of age, was seated on the vacant throne. The cities of Burgos, Toledo, Cordova, and Seville joined in the defection ; and their example was followed in most of the southern districts.

In the northern provinces,—especially in the Asturias, where the loyal and high-minded *Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza*⁴, marquis of *Santillana*, had great estates,—the people were indignant at the outrage done to the king. Nearly 100,000 men came forth at his first summons, to fight for him ; so that he might have crushed his adversaries, had he not foolishly chosen to treat again with the artful Villena, by whom he was beguiled into making a truce and disbanding his forces. He was afterwards mean enough to agree to marry his half-sister Isabella⁵ to *Peter Giron*, the master of *Calatrava*, Villena's brother, a man of infamous life⁶ : but hardly had that licentious nobleman received the papal dispensation which released him from

⁴ Afterwards made duke of *del Infantado* by Ferdinand and Isabella.—He was the head of the *Mendozas*, being the son of the grandee, warrior, and poet *Inigo Lopez de Mendoza*, the first marquis of *Santillana*.

⁵ She had been betrothed to Charles, prince of Viana ; and after his death, she had been promised to Alfonso V. of Portugal.

⁶ He had once had the insolence to make dishonourable proposals to the queen dowager, Isabella's mother.

his ill-kept vows, when he fell sick and died, Jan. 1466; much to the relief of Isabella, who had secretly vowed to plunge a dagger into his heart, rather than become his wife.

Every hope of a peaceable settlement having at length passed away, there was a battle fought once more on the plains of Olmedo, Aug. 1467. It was bloody, but indecisive. While the gallant Bertrand displayed the courage of a lion, the king himself fled at the first sight of danger; yet the royalist troops, being strong in numbers, stood firm against the fierce onset of the young hero Alfonso and the warlike archbishop of Toledo, the latter of whom did not even leave the field when his arm was run through by a lance. From the result of so sharp a struggle, it was felt that neither party could overcome the other; every one dared to do what he liked, and the whole kingdom was one dreadful scene of crime and violence. In the country, the lords of the castles sallied forth to plunder travellers on the highways⁷; and in the towns, owing to the deadly feuds of rival families and factions, street would be at war with street, and the very churches were turned into strongholds.

In July 1468, Alfonso, who had then reached the age of fifteen, was found dead in his bed at Cardenosa, a village near Avila⁸. The leaders of the rebels, fearing that his loss would break up the league and bring them to ruin, wanted to make the Infanta Isabella queen in his stead: but she nobly and wisely refused the proffered crown, and was neither to be swayed by the entreaties of the archbishop of Toledo, nor to be tempted by the tidings that Seville

⁷ Already in 1465, a *Hermandad*, or league was formed to abate the nuisance. It kept up a force of 3000 horse, and razed several castles.

⁸ A deadly epidemic was then raging. There was, however, a story that he had eaten a poisoned trout.

and the rest of Andalusia had already proclaimed her their sovereign. It was her wish to reconcile all parties, and also amend what was amiss; an honest policy, carrying public opinion along with it, to which both the confederates and the king were forced to yield. It was settled that there should be an amnesty; that queen Joanna should be divorced, and sent back to Portugal; that Isabella should be princess of the Asturias and heiress of Castille and Leon, and not be married, either against her will, or without her brother's consent. At Toros de Guisandos in New Castille, Henry and Isabella met and embraced, Sept. 1468, and the nobles present swore allegiance and kissed the hand of the princess; after which the convention was solemnly ratified in the cortes held at Ocana.

Highly gifted in mind and person, Isabella, now that she was so favoured by fortune, found herself sought after by many princely suitors². She rejected the weak, watery-eyed *Charles of France*, duke of *Guienne*¹, and wisely chose her kinsman Ferdinand, the young, handsome, brave and politic crown-prince of Arragon: but not without arousing the enmity of the selfish marquis of Villena³, who had recovered all his old influence, and would have forced her to marry the widower Alfonso V. of Portugal, to the son of whom, Henry's daughter Joanna was also to be affianced⁴. Threatened with imprisonment, and only saved from it by the dread of an outbreak of the people of Ocana, the spirited princess consulted her friends⁴, and gave the Arra-

² Among these were *Edward IV.* of England, and perhaps his brother, afterwards *Richard III.*

¹ The brother and (as yet) heir presumptive of Lewis XI.

² He was afraid that it would be remembered that his marquisate had been confiscated from a prince of the house of Arragon.

³ By the latter marriage, Villena sought to please Henry, and to gain over the Mendozas and the rest of Joanna's faction.

⁴ The chief of these were the archbishop of Toledo and Frederic

gonese envoy a favourable answer; which transaction coming to the ears of the marquis, he sent a prelate of his party, *Peter Gonzalez de Mendoza*, then archbishop of *Seville*, to seize her at *Madrigal*, where she was beset by spies and traitors, and the townsmen were too weak to protect her. From these last, however, she had timely warning to look to her own safety; and at her first summons, the archbishop of *Toledo* marched up with a small army, and carried her off to *Valladolid*.

At *Valladolid*, *Isabella* was married to *Ferdinand*, Oct. 1469; being then nineteen, a year older than her lover⁵, who also had not come thither without risk. He had crossed the frontier in disguise, and with only a few followers: for his father was brought to such straits by the *Catalan* revolt, that the *Aragonese* treasury was empty, and there was no means of raising an escort. Indeed so poor were the bride and the bridegroom, that they had to borrow money for their wedding, which was solemnized with much pomp⁶.

Villena, who had resigned his marquisate to his son and had become master of *Santiago*, did not let them rest in peace. He threw himself heart and soul into the cause of *Joanna*; who, by his management, was betrothed, in her

Henriquez, the admiral of *Castille*, *Ferdinand's* maternal grandfather.

⁵ By the marriage articles already signed at *Cervera*, Jan. 1469, *Ferdinand* had promised, when king, to respect the laws and customs of *Castille*; to reside in that kingdom; not to alienate the crown lands; to give no municipal offices to foreigners; to make no appointments without his wife's consent; and to let her have the disposal of all the church patronage. All public ordinances were to be equally subscribed by both.

⁶ The bull of papal dispensation, produced by the archbishop of *Toledo*, was a forged one, much to *Isabella's* dismay when she found it out. Some years later, when *Rome* was no longer hostile, a genuine dispensation was granted by *Sixtus IV.*

ninth year, to the duke of Guienne, and was also declared by Henry to be his lawful heiress, Oct. 1470⁷. All the Mendozas, and many other great families, took the same side : but the Basque provinces, and Andalusia, with the house of Medina Sidonia and the resolute archbishop of Toledo, were strongly against the French match, and true to Isabella. Thus the unhappy kingdom was again doomed to anarchy and civil war, evils which were made worse by two dreadful years of famine⁸.

The fickle duke of Guienne having very soon set his mind upon another marriage⁹, his engagement to the young infanta was broken off. This was advantageous to Isabella, whose wisdom and virtues daily made her more respected, notwithstanding the poverty by which she and her husband were straitened ; it was also her good fortune to gain over such friends as the archbishop and cardinal Mendoza, the leading spirit of his powerful family, and *Andrew de Cabrera*, who was governor of Segovia, where the royal treasures were kept. The latter invited her to Segovia, Dec. 1473, and brought about a kindly meeting with her brother, which led to a reconciliation ; even Ferdinand who hastened thither on his return from Arragon, being welcomed with a succession of splendid feasts.

An illness, however, which seized upon Henry at a banquet given by Cabrera, was by the Master of Santiago ascribed to treachery ; and the brief calm was again troubled. But the unhappy king died, after some months of suffering, in the fifty-first year of his age, Dec. 1474, without either leaving a will or naming a successor¹ ; he

⁷ At an interview with the French ambassadors, in the valley of Lozoya.

⁸ These were the years 1472 and 1473.

⁹ He now wanted to have Mary of Burgundy, a more likely heiress.

¹ Yet Joanna claimed to have been then named his heir. It is certain that he always looked upon her as his daughter ; and what is

was moreover preceded to the grave by the Master of Santiago, his evil genius, whose career had been suddenly stopped by a sharp attack of sickness.

- A. D. 1474. Ferdinand V. and Isabella I.
 1475. Alfonso of Portugal takes Toro and Zamora.
 1476. Battle of Toro.—Cortes of Madrigal.
 1478. Treaty of St. Jean de Luz.
 1479. *Aragon and Castille united*.—Peace with Portugal.
 1480. Cortes of Toledo.—Canary conquered.—The new Inquisition.
 1481. Zahara surprised by the Moors ; War of Grenada.
 1482. Alhama surprised ; defeat at Loja. Revolt of Boabdil.
 —Mendoza archbishop of Toledo ; dispute with Sixtus IV.
 1483. Battle of Lucena ; treaty with Boabdil.—Torquemada Inquisitor.
 1485. El Zagal king of Grenada.—Montalvo's Ordinances ; murder of Arbues.
 1487. Malaga taken from the Moors.
 1489. Baza taken ; submission of El Zagal.
 1492. *Grenada taken*.—*Columbus discovers the West Indies*.
 1493. Bull of Alexander VI.
 1495. Conquest of Teneriffe.—Ximenes archbishop of Toledo.
 1497. Death of the crown-prince John.
 1498. Death of Isabella, queen of Portugal.
 1499. Ferdinand chosen Master of Santiago.
 1504. Conquest of Naples. Death of Isabella.

FERDINAND V. and ISABELLA I. were at once proclaimed at Segovia ; the latter, who herself was on the spot, as queen proprietress. But there arose a sharp discussion when the husband came up from Arragon, as his grandfather, the Admiral *Frederic Henriquez*, and the rest of his mother's kindred wanted him to have all the power in his own hands² ; so more remarkable, Bertrand de la Cueva was a strong partisan of Isabella against her.

² Deeming him to be the male representative of the house of Trastamara. Moreover it was customary, in the Middle Ages, for the husband to rule in behalf of his wife.

the matter was referred to cardinal Mendoza and the archbishop of Toledo, by whom it was decided in favour of their own native princess and the independence of Castille. A plan of joint government was then adopted³, which, owing to the moderation and firmness of Isabella, worked well indeed, without any jealousy or encroachment on either side.

Although the bulk of the nation were for the new queen, a large and powerful faction, headed by the marquesses of *Villena* and *Cadiz*⁴ and the duke of *Arenvalo*, called upon Alfonso of Portugal to marry his niece Joanna, and win for himself the kingdom of Castille. Early in May 1475, Alfonso set out with an army of 20,000 men to join his friends; and at Placencia, he and Joanna were betrothed, and then proclaimed king and queen.

Had Alfonso at once marched southward, he might have carried every thing before him. As it was, he reduced Zamora and Toro, two of the most important places of Leon; nor could Ferdinand make head against him with the ill-trained militia which, by most wonderful efforts, Isabella had gathered together. The surly archbishop of Toledo, who had long been angry at the growing influence of cardinal Mendoza, openly went over to the Portuguese; boasting that he had raised Isabella from the distaff, and that he would send her back to it again⁵.

But before the year was ended, Isabella, with the help of liberal grants from her people, had raised an efficient

³ It was based on the original marriage settlement. See p. 458, note 5.

⁴ *Roderic Ponce* (Pontius) *de Leon*, the legitimated son of *John*, count of *Aroos*, was connected by marriage with the house of Pacheco.

⁵ On the other hand, the loyal Castillian subjects so harassed the Portuguese border with inroads, that Alfonso offered peace if he could have Galicia and keep his conquests. Isabella would not hear of it.

army, and put the towns in a good state of defence; her husband also recovered Zamora, and invested its citadel, thus threatening Alfonso's communications with his own country. The Portuguese king did not move from Toro, until his son, the Infant *John*, had brought him up fresh troops; and when he did advance, he could not relieve the beleaguered stronghold, although he watched the siege for nearly a fortnight before he broke up his camp and retreated, March 1476. Pursued by Ferdinand, he halted on the wide plain near Toro, and risked a battle which he lost: his men giving way after three hours of hard fighting, the duke of Alva turned their flank, and the whole array became a mass of confusion and carnage. Prince John kept his ground until the morning, and led safe to Toro the small remnant which, in the dark and stormy night, he had rallied round him⁶.

The effect of the victory of Toro was felt at once. It decided the waverers; the rebel nobles, weakened by desertion, were speedily forced to make their submission; the revolted towns and castles were recovered, one after another; and the enemy's allies, the French, were driven out of the loyal Basque provinces, which they had been invited to seize. Alfonso withdrew with Joanna into Portugal; and at the end of the summer, he went to France, where he tried hard, for more than a twelvemonth, to get the crafty Lewis XI. to help him. Finding at last that he had only been duped⁷, he returned home, Nov. 1477, still bent upon carrying on the war: but such was the havoc which it wrought in his own border, that even his obstinacy was shaken, and it was not long in his power to refuse

⁶ There were about 10,000 men in each army. The Admiral and cardinal Mendoza were with Ferdinand, and the doughty archbishop of Toledo was fighting as fiercely for the Portuguese.

⁷ The French king was negotiating the treaty with Isabella, which was afterwards concluded at St. Jean de Luz, Nov. 1478.

peace. In September 1479, he consented to acknowledge Isabella, and to betroth his eldest grandson to her eldest daughter; the more readily sacrificing the claims of Joanna, as he could not obtain a dispensation to marry her. The forsaken maiden renounced the world, and took the veil in the nunnery of the Poor Clares at Coimbra^a.

The long separation of the rival kingdoms of Castille and Arragon had now been ended for ever. John II. of Arragon had died full of days, Jan. 1479, leaving Ferdinand his hereditary dominions in Spain and Sicily.

At this period, Isabella was busily engaged in looking after the welfare of her people. By means of the *Santa Hermandad*, or Holy Brotherhood, which she had re-organized on a grand scale at the Cortes of Madrigal^b, in the year 1476, she restored peace and order throughout the land; and at another cortes, held at Toledo four years afterwards, the nobles, whom she had thus curbed and broken in, were forbidden to quarter the royal arms, to keep a body-guard, to fight duels, or to build new strongholds: they even agreed to the resumption of all the gifts and pensions granted since the middle of king Henry's reign. High office was no longer given only to men of rank; trade was encouraged, the coinage

^a Nov. 1480.—The "excellent lady" had the option of marrying Don John, Isabella's son; but she knew that it was useless to wait for an infant husband who was still in his cradle. She more than once left her convent, and lived in royal state; and she always styled herself queen. Indeed she died at last in the palace at Lisbon, in the year 1530.

^b The courts and the armed force of the brotherhood, which were kept up by a general assessment, dealt summary justice in cases of highway-robbery, rape, house-breaking, and resistance to the laws. The *Santa Hermandad* flourished in spite of the opposition of the nobles, until the year 1498, when—having done its work—it was considerably reduced, and was continued only as a police.

amended, the laws revised¹, the royal council and the courts of justice remodelled; the government was strengthened by the wise policy of obtaining for Ferdinand the master-ships of the rich and powerful military orders²; and all attempts on the part of the Pope to encroach on the ecclesiastical rights of the crown, were steadily resisted³. Isabella's calm courage and wonderful presence of mind, her truth, firmness, impartiality, and freedom from selfishness, made her at once to be feared, trusted, and loved: she was the best, and certainly one of the wisest and greatest of female sovereigns.

Unhappily for Spain, the queen's devotion to her church, and the influence of *Thomas de Torquemada*, a stern, bloodthirsty Dominican, made her yield—slowly indeed, and very much against her own feelings—to the outcry of the clergy against the “New Christians⁴,” as being still

¹ *Alfonso Diaz de Montalvo* was employed in compiling the *Ordenanzas Reales*, first printed in 1485. These, and two subsidiary codes, remained in use until the reign of Philip II., and became the basis of the *Nueva Recopilacion*.

² He was chosen master of Calatrava, in the year 1487; of Alcantara, in 1494; and of Santiago, in 1499.—Pope *Adrian VI.*, in the year 1522, finally annexed the master-ships to the crown.

³ When Pope Sixtus IV., in the year 1482, tried to give a Spanish bishopric to his nephew, Isabella ordered her subjects to leave Rome; refused to receive a legate; and held out threats of a general council. Sixtus published a bull in which he promised to promote only native clergy, recommended by the queen.—The right of nomination to bishoprics was for ever yielded to the crown by *Adrian VI.*

⁴ When the Albigensian heresy had been extirpated by the old Inquisition in Arragon, the spirit of persecution turned itself against the Jews, a race then distinguished for wealth, science, and medical skill. Towards the close of the fourteenth century, many of them were driven by fear to be baptized; and both Castille and Arragon began to swarm with the “*New Christians*,” whose secret leanings to Judaism were dreaded by the clergy, and whose wealth and intelli-

Hebrews at heart. Thus the dreadful tribunal of the Inquisition, the so-called Holy Office, was first established at Seville, Sept. 1480; and before three years were over, that evil institution was fully developed¹, and Torquemada was inquisitor-general both for Castille and Arragon, Oct. 1483. The more worldly Ferdinand entered heartily into a project which was likely to bring in a harvest of confiscations; he also joined with his wife in the cruel and impolitic edict, signed at Grenada, March 1492, which compelled the Jews to be baptized, or else to leave the country within three months. This forced and sudden emigration of thousands of industrious families was not effected without great hardship and misery, and a frightful loss of life.

More glorious to Ferdinand and Isabella was the holy gence stirred the envy of the people, feelings which were not lessened by their marriages into the very noblest families.

¹ A bull of Sixtus IV. devised the Inquisition (Nov. 1478), a scheme which was much expanded by two briefs of his, dated Aug. and Oct. 1483. It was a hateful system, favouring despotism as well as bigotry. It had its spies and familiars every where; each year, on the first two Sundays of Lent, all the faithful were called upon to betray any one whom they knew, or even suspected, to be tainted with heresy; the officials, the witnesses, the accused, were bound by awful oaths of secrecy to keep the proceedings shrouded in mystery; torture and unfair means were freely employed to work out its ends. The crowning atrocity was the Act of Faith (*auto da fé*), in which those who were found guilty were led forth, clad in woollen *sacn benitos* (corrupted from *sacos benditos*, yellow frocks on which were depicted flames and devils), and either *recoiled* or *relaxed*; that is to say, either let off with heavy fines and penances, or else handed over to the civil power and burnt alive.—In Arragon, where there was much Jewish blood among the nobles, the horrors enacted at Saragossa, in May and June 1485, led to the assassination of the canon *Peter Arbues de Epila*, a leading inquisitor; who was stabbed before the great altar of the cathedral, while he was at his midnight devotions. The crime recoiled on the perpetrators. Arbues was honoured as a martyr, and the Inquisition was established more firmly than ever.

war which overthrew the kingdom of Grenada, and raised Christian Spain to the highest rank among nations. It was most rashly kindled by the Moors themselves. Their sultan, the fiery *Muley Abul Hacen*, had from the first refused to pay the yearly tribute, saying that "the mints of Grenada no longer coined gold, but steel;" and he had now made good his word by surprising the border town of Zahara; and carrying away all the men, women, and children as slaves, Dec. 1481. This was retaliated by the surprise of Alhama, taken and sacked by the marquis of Cadiz, Feb. 1482; which important city and stronghold the Christians bravely kept, although twice besieged in it by large armies⁶. Flushed with success, the Castillians attacked the strong town of Loja, the following July; but the Moors sallying out upon them while they were seized with a panic, they ingloriously retreated, leaving their baggage and artillery behind them. Had not Ferdinand been cool and collected, not a man would have been brought away in safety.

At this crisis, the sultan's wife *Zoraya*, jealous of a Greek slave and her offspring, set her own son *Abu Abdallah*, or *Boabdil*⁷, upon the throne of Grenada. *Abul Hacen*, driven out of his capital, withdrew to Malaga, where he still ruled over a portion of his former dominions. This unhappy division of the kingdom greatly hastened its downfall.

⁶ In March and in May. In the first siege, the marquis of Cadiz, who was still in the town, was relieved by the lords of Andalusia, and by his generous rival the duke of Medina Sidonia; who came without a summons, thus healing that long feud between the houses of Ponce de Leon and Guzman, which even Isabella had not been able to do more than allay. The second siege was raised by Ferdinand, at whose approach *Abul Hacen* again retired.

⁷ *Boabdil el Chico*, the Small, as he was named by the Spaniards, to distinguish him from his uncle *Boabdil el Zagal*, the Valiant. The Moors called him *Abu Abdallah el Zogaybi*, the Unfortunate.

An inroad against Malaga was now undertaken by *Alfonso de Cardenas*, the master of *Santiago*, with the marquis of Cadiz and other lords: but as they were threading the defiles of the mountain chain of the Axarquía, March 1483, they were assailed and routed by the old king's brother *Abdallah el Zagal*, or *Boabdil the Valiant*; shots, stones, arrows, and huge masses of rock being hurled down upon their broken ranks from the rugged heights, while they were retreating. And the Younger Boabdil, when he heard of the glory thus won by an uncle whom he hated, was stirred up to lead a foray from Grenada, and to lay siege to Lucena. There he met with a dreadful reverse. *Diego de Cordova*, count of *Cabra*, falling with a large force upon his troops, April 1483, the infantry fled, trying only to keep their booty; the cavalry, after a sharp contest, were cut to pieces^a; and he himself was taken prisoner, and his haughty mother was fain to ransom him by the proffer of most humiliating concessions. Having agreed to release the Christian captives, to pay a yearly tribute, to give his son and the children of his chief nobles as hostages, and to allow free passage to the armies sent against his fellow-countrymen in Malaga; the unhappy Boabdil bought a truce for two years, and recovered his freedom.

Such was the scorn which was felt for Boabdil on his return home, that even his clever mother could not long uphold his authority. He was fairly driven out of Grenada by his valiant uncle, just before the death of Abul Hacen in the year 1485; and when he recovered his footing with the help of his hated Christian allies, a bloody war still raged for many months within the city, between the fac-

^a The struggle was decided by the death of Boabdil's low-born father-in-law, *Ali Atar*, the hero of Loja. The Moorish horse then tried to retreat; but were stopped by the waters of the flooded Xenil, and mingled with the foot in hopeless confusion.

tions of the rival sultans. The conquest of the country was all this time going on with rapid strides. Thirty thousand foragers, every spring and fall, spread over the fields and laid them waste; town after town, Illora, "the right eye," Moclin, "the shield" of Grenada, and the hitherto impregnable Loja, fell before the heavy artillery², which was drawn up by new roads over the most rugged heights; the spirit, the perfect discipline of the crusaders¹, the policy and military skill of Ferdinand³, and the heroic energy of Isabella⁴, worked wonders, and carried every thing before them. At length, in April 1487, Velez Malaga, the key of Malaga, was taken; and by the following August, Malaga itself, a fair and rich city of immense strength, was reduced after a stubborn siege. Its brave inhabitants, overcome by famine and sickness, were doomed to slavery.

Boabdil the Valiant, who had withdrawn from Grenada and betaken himself to Guadix, was too much crippled by his conflict with his nephew to be able to give any effectual help to the beleaguered towns. He lost all hope, when Baza, the most important place which yet remained to him, surrendered after a desperate defence of seven months, Dec. 1489; and thus he agreed to yield up Guadix, and Almeria, and other broad domains, and to become the vassal king of the district of Andaraz. There

¹ The clumsy cannons were still made of iron bars, held together by bolts and rings, and immoveable in their carriages. Yet shells were now used; and at Malaga, a mine was sprung.

² Harlots were kept out of the camp. There was no gaming, and hardly ever was a knife drawn in a quarrel. Even the proud nobles submitted to obey command.

³ Ferdinand had the shrewdness to offer fair terms to those who were willing to surrender.

⁴ Isabella was firm when others wavered. To keep up the courage of the troops, she would put on armour, and face the dangers of the field.

he found his life so wretched, that he ceded every thing for a sum of money, and passed over into Africa.

Now that the base alliance of the Younger Boabdil was not wanted any more, his magnificent city of Grenada, the last stronghold of Islamism in Western Europe, was to be wrested from his feeble hands. He protested, when bidden by his masters to part with it⁴, that he could do nothing against the will of the inhabitants, whose numbers had lately been swollen to two hundred thousand by the crowds of Moslems who had fled from their former homes; and then followed some forays and acts of aggression, which were requited by a sweeping devastation of the plain around Grenada, and, in another year, by the siege of the city itself, April 1491. Upwards of 50,000 Christian warriors, under the banners of their king and queen, lay encamped before it; and when a fire broke out among the tents, one night in July, a substantially built town, which still bears the name of Santa Fé, was planned on the spot, and completed within three months, rising like a portentous vision, and chilling the hearts of the astonished Moors with dread. Already was hunger sharply felt by the overgrown population pent up within the walls of the blockaded capital; nor in truth, though many still looked to be relieved from without, was there left any escape from death or bondage, but by a favourable treaty. Terms were easily settled, late in November⁵, as Ferdinand was

⁴ He is said to have promised, when a captive, to give it up or exchange it, should Guadix, Baza, and Almeria be conquered.

⁵ The treaty, of which the great Gonsalvo de Cordova was one of the negotiators, was signed on the 25th of November. It was stipulated that the Moors should keep their mosques, their property, their laws, their magistrates, and have the free exercise of their religion. They were to be allowed to emigrate, and vessels were to be furnished to all who should return to Africa.—For eight years the treaty was kept; *Ferdinand de Talavera*, the new archbishop, making

glad to have done with a war which heavily taxed the resources of Spain: but the capitulation was kept secret until the Second Day of January 1492, when Grenada was surrendered in sudden haste, lest there should be an outbreak of the citizens. The great cardinal Mendoza⁶ went up with a body of troops, and was met by the sultan; who came out with fifty horsemen, and delivered to Ferdinand the keys of his palace-fortress. On high, above the battlements, the large silver cross which had been borne throughout the crusade, and the standards of Castille and St. James were displayed, while the whole army outside knelt down, and the Church's hymn of triumph was sung; after which Ferdinand and Isabella marched with their warriors into the conquered town, and the wretched Boabdil withdrew to hide his shame in the Alpuxarras, where he was to rule over a vassal kingdom. Reaching a rocky height which gave him a last view of Grenada, he turned round, and burst into tears. "You do well," said his mother, "to weep like a woman for what you could not defend like a man!"—The gate by which he departed from his capital, has been walled up, at his request; and numerous proselytes by fair means: but when the more fiery Ximenes interfered, employing bribery and intimidation, and burning the costly Arabic manuscripts, the Moorish quarter revolted (A.D. 1499). The tumult was stilled by the meek Talavera, who bravely presented himself before the insurgents; its result was the emigration of those who would not be converted. A series of revolts now broke out among the hardy shepherds of the Alpuxarras, in which the chief event was the death of Gonsálvo's elder brother, the gallant *Ferdinand de Cordova*, lord of *Aguilar*, overpowered in the Red Sierra, March 1501: these also ended in the exile or baptism of the rebels who survived; an alternative which was afterwards enforced, by an edict dated Feb. 1502, upon the Moors in the rest of the kingdom. The *Moriscos*, or christianized Moors, were jealously watched by the Inquisition, and never allowed to live in peace.

⁶ Mendoza had been translated from Seville to Toledo, on the death of Carillo, July 1482.

the spot where he halted, to this day is named the "Last Sigh of the Moor".

Yet even the importance of a conquest, which throughout Christendom was deemed to counterbalance the loss of Constantinople, is almost thrown into the shade by the discovery of the New World, made under the auspices of Isabella by *Christopher Columbus*¹: Baffled in his suit to *John II.* of Portugal; repulsed by his countrymen the Genoese, and coldly neglected by *Henry VII.* of England, to whom he had sent his brother *Bartholomew*; long kept waiting in Spain itself, while the Moorish war lasted, and distrusted by Ferdinand; the great navigator found a firm friend in a queen who had elevation of soul to appreciate his daring plan of sailing westward to India over the wide, unknown sea². She took the risk of the undertaking for her own crown of Castille; prevailing upon her husband to join with her in naming Columbus admiral and viceroy of all such continents and islands as he should discover in the western main³, and also giving the utmost help which her exhausted means would allow. On *Friday, Aug. 3rd,*

¹ Boabdil sold his kingdom, in another year, and passed over to Africa, where he was slain in battle, while fighting for a kinsman. — The great Christian champion, the marquis-duke of Cadiz, had also died, worn out by his exertions, Aug. 1492. A son of an illegitimate daughter was allowed to have his estates, with the title of duke of *Arcos*.

² He was the son of a Genoese wool-comber or weaver, and had come to Portugal, in the year 1470, when about thirty. In the intervals between his voyages to various countries, he employed himself in making maps and charts.

³ Although Columbus visited Iceland in the year 1477, it is clear that he knew nothing of the American discoveries of the Northmen; which seem indeed to have been quite forgotten.

⁴ This grant, which was signed in the new-built town of Santa Fé; 1492, was extended to his heirs. He was also to have one-tenth of all profits of his discoveries, and an eighth besides, if he contributed one-eighth of the expenses.

1492, Columbus with three light vessels, two of which were caravels without decks, set sail from the small port of Palos in Andalusia, whence he boldly steered his course onwards, undismayed by the variations of the compass and the mutinous spirit of his crews, until on *Friday*, the 12th of October, he first descried land; having reached a cluster of islands which were thought to border on the farthest shores of Asia, and to belong indeed to the West Indies. When he had explored the isles of Guanahani, Cuba, and Haiti, he turned homewards the prow of his only remaining ship, Jan. 1493; and, after a stormy voyage in which he was driven out of his course into Lisbon, he arrived safe at Palos on *Friday*, March 15th, 1493; bringing with him gold, specimens of plants and animals, and some of the Indians. With these he went to Barcelona, where the court was residing², and was received with unwonted honours. In a second voyage, undertaken, Sept. 1493, with a fleet of seventeen ships, he discovered Jamaica, and established the colony of Hispaniola in Haiti: and in a third, which was begun in May 1498, he found his way to Trinidad, and, on the First of August, reached the mouths of the Orinoco, and first set foot on the Terra Firma, or the Mainland of South America. The eastern coast of the northern continent had already been discovered by *Sebastian Cabot*, an English mariner of Venetian origin³; who had sailed from Bristol in May 1497.—It was from England and Spain that the planters and conquerors of the New World were to come forth. Portugal, hitherto fore-

² Ferdinand, while at Barcelona, had been dangerously stabbed by a mad peasant.

³ He and his father the Venetian *John Cabot* (Gaboto), had discovered Newfoundland on Midsummer Day, 1494. Yet America derives its name, not from Columbus or Cabot, but from *Americus Vesputus* (Amerigo Vespucci), a Florentine voyager who published charts and a description of the Spanish New World.

most in the field of discovery, had to modify the exclusive claim to maritime dominion for which she held papal sanction⁴, and the enterprise of her seamen turned itself eastward.

In the new colony of Hispaniola, Columbus met only with sorrow and disappointment. The settlers there, many of whom were pardoned convicts, had the true Spanish dislike of being ruled by a foreigner; nor could they be kept from cruelly treating the Indians⁵. By *Francis de Bobadilla*, a knight who had been commissioned to hear the complaints against him, Columbus was sent back to Spain in irons, Aug. 1500; and though, as soon as he landed in Cadiz, the king and queen set him free⁶, so deeply did he feel the wrong, even to the hour of his death, that he ordered the chains which he had worn to be buried with him. From Cadiz, however, he sailed on a fourth voyage,⁷ March 1502, and unsuccessfully tried to find on

⁴ As early as May 1493, Isabella had obtained from Pope Alexander VI. the possession of all lands discovered or to be discovered in the Western Ocean, with rights like those which had been granted to the kings of Portugal. In a supplementary bull, an imaginary line was drawn from pole to pole, one hundred leagues to the west of the Azores and Cape de Verde islands; so as to save the rights of the Portuguese, who at length were induced by Isabella's tact and firmness to agree to a compromise. At the congress of Tordesillas, June 1494, the partition line was extended to 370 leagues; a concession which afterwards entitled Portugal to colonise Brazil.

⁵ Columbus had the conversion of the Indians at heart; like Isabella, who also was their friend to the last. She would not let them be sold in Spain for slaves, though she allowed Spanish negroes to be imported into America, deeming them to be well suited to the climate (a mistaken policy which led to the horrors of the African slave trade). Another earnest but less powerful protector of the unhappy Indians, was the Dominican *Bartholomew las Casas*, bishop of *Chiapa*.

⁶ Bobadilla was recalled home to be tried for his conduct; but he was hardly embarked, when he perished in a storm.

the northern coast of the Terra Firma a passage into the Indian Ocean⁷: he was afterwards shipwrecked in Jamaica; and when he at last returned to St. Lucar in Spain, Nov. 1504, Isabella, his staunch friend, was dead, and Ferdinand was bent upon making him give up his undoubted rights, just as they were becoming valuable. Worn out by a life of trouble and hardship, the world-weary voyager died in peace at Valladolid, on the day of our Lord's Ascension, May 1506⁸.

The magnificent colonial empire of which Isabella laid the foundations, afterwards so widely extended, in the days of her grandson, by the conquests of *Ferdinand Cortez* and *Francis Pizarro*, has now almost wholly crumbled away. Unlike their illustrious queen, the Spaniards cared little for trade and agriculture; neglecting the true sources of national greatness, they threw themselves with fierce eagerness into the search after gold and silver, destroying the Indians by wholesale for their wealth, or working them to death in the mines of Mexico and Peru⁹. Under a selfish, grasping system of restrictions and monopolies,

⁷ The Pacific Ocean was first seen in the year 1513, by *Vasco Nunez de Balboa*; who, with a few men, had penetrated across the Isthmus of Darien.

⁸ His body was removed, six years later, from Valladolid to Seville by Ferdinand; who inscribed on his monument:—

A Castilla y a Leon (*To Castille and to Leon*),

Nuovo mundo dió Colon (*Colon gave a new world*).

It was removed, in the year 1536, to Hispaniola; and thence, when that colony was ceded to France (in 1795), to the cathedral of Havana in Cuba.—Columbus' son *Diego* had a lawsuit with Ferdinand for the admiral's rights, which he gained; but in the next generation, these were ceded for a large revenue and the titles of duke of Veragua and marquis of Jamaica.

⁹ Columbus himself had been obliged to allow the system of "*repartimientos*," by which the Indians were allotted to the Spanish planters.

meant to enrich the treasury and to keep out foreign competition, the traffic of the Indies, limited to Seville and the port of Cadiz, fell into the hands of a few rich merchants; and thus, while government officials made large fortunes, industry languished both in the mother-country and in the colonies, and pirates, smugglers, and robbers infested the seas and the roads from which the fair trader had been driven.

In the treaty with Portugal in the year 1479, the right of traffic and discovery on the western coast of Africa had been given up by Castille; the latter power being allowed to complete the conquest of the Canaries¹. During the following twelvemonth, a fleet had been sent out, and the island of Canary taken; and about fifteen years afterwards, Palma and Teneriffe were reduced. The crown of Arragon also recovered Roussillon and the Cerdagne, ceded by the young French king *Charles VIII.* to the wily diplomacy of Ferdinand², Jan. 1493; and by *Gonsalvo de Cordova*, "the Great Captain," whose genius raised the Spanish infantry to the highest pitch of excellence³, the kingdom of Naples, the prize which France had so long coveted, was finally subdued, Jan. 1504.

In the midst of all this glory and greatness, Isabella had fallen into deep dejection. Incessant toil of mind and

¹ As early as 1393, some Basques had conquered one of the smaller islands. Three of the others had since been reduced by adventurers from Seville.

² Ferdinand was the first European king who kept resident ministers at foreign courts. He used also to bribe largely in his negotiations.

³ Gonsalvo gave steadiness to his infantry by arming one-third of the men with long spears. The rest of the soldiers, retaining their national short swords and bucklers, would cut into an array of hostile pikes, just as the Roman legionaries did into the unwieldy Macedonian phalanx.—Isabella had the merit of recommending this great general to her selfish husband.

body had severely tasked her strength when she was still young; but as she began to be in declining years, the strain had been increased by a heavy weight of sorrows. Her only son, the virtuous and accomplished Prince *John*, the hope of Spain, was suddenly cut off by a fever at the age of twenty, Oct. 1497, six months after his auspicious marriage with *Margaret of Austria*⁴, daughter of the Emperor Maximilian; and before there was time to recover from the shock of such a bereavement, *Isabella*, queen of Portugal⁵, the eldest and one of the most loved of her children, died also, Aug. 1498, after giving birth to an infant, named *Michael*, who was recognized as heir of Castille, Arragon, and Portugal, but did not live quite two years. Another source of cruel grief to so fond a mother was the madness which had begun to afflict the Infanta *Joanna*, her second daughter⁶, the jealous wife of the volatile *Philip the Handsome*, Maximilian's son; her two youngest children also, *Mary* and *Catherine*⁷, had been sent away as brides to Portugal and England⁷, and death had already deprived her of some of the dearest friends of her early youth. Yet she bravely struggled to the utmost, to fulfil her various duties, even when her strength was wasted by a slow, burning fever which brought her to the

⁴ Margaret had a still-born child after her husband's death. She subsequently married *Philibert II.*, duke of *Savoy*, Sept. 1501, and was again left a childless widow.

⁵ She was first married, Nov. 1490, to *Alfonso*, heir of Portugal; who died of a fall from his horse, July 1491. Her second husband, king *Emanuel*, afterwards married *Mary*, one of her younger sisters, Oct. 1500.

⁶ *Isabella's* own mother had died insane, in the year 1496. Hence the melancholy temperament so often met with in both branches of the house of Austria.

⁷ Both eventually married irregularly. *Mary* was the wife of king *uel*, her brother-in-law; and *Catherine* of king *Henry VIII.*, other of *Arthur*, her first husband.

grave. She died as holily as she had lived, Nov. 1504, in the fifty-fourth year of her age.

By her last will, she named her husband to be sole regent of Castille, in case of the absence or incapacity of Joanna, until the majority of *Charles*, their eldest grandson. To Ferdinand she also bequeathed one-half of the revenues of the Indies, and a large pension assigned on the dues paid to the crown from the masterships of the military orders¹.

A. D. 1504. Philip I. and Joanna.

1505. Treaty of Blois ; Concord of Salamanca.

1506. Ferdinand gives up the regency. Death of Philip.

1507. Ferdinand resumes the regency.

1509. Conquest of Oran.

1512. Conquest of Navarre.

1516. Death of Ferdinand ; Charles of Austria succeeds to the kingdoms of Spain.

PHILIP I. and JOANNA were proclaimed king and queen²; Ferdinand resigning the crown of Castille, the evening of the day on which his wife died, and taking upon himself the office of administrator of the realm. At the cortes of Toro, Jan. 1505, Isabella's will was read, and the authority of the new governor solemnly acknowledged.

But the veteran malcontent Villena and many of the nobles were very loth to be ruled by "the stern and frugal old Catalan," as Ferdinand was termed; and they had even gone so far as to send to Flanders, and call upon

¹ To Ferdinand and Isabella, and their successors, the Pope, about the end of the year 1494, gave the title of "Catholic." The crown of Castille was also endowed with two-ninths of the church-tithes.

² Joanna had even been recognized as heiress of the crown of Arragon, Oct. 1502, though the Arragonese, being averse to female rule, had demurred at accepting her sister, the late queen of Portugal, as their future sovereign.

Philip to come over and claim the government as the natural guardian of his wife. Notwithstanding the Concord of Salamanca (an agreement by which the disputed power was to be shared, Nov. 1505), and Ferdinand's alliance with Lewis XII. of France, whose fair niece, *Germaine of Foix*¹, he also married (March 1506); Philip was at length stirred up by his artful friend *Don John Manuel*, to enter the lists against his father-in-law: he landed with his queen at Corunna, April 1506, and so generally was Ferdinand deserted by the Castillians, that after an unsatisfactory interview on the borders of Leon (on Midsummer Eve), he consented to resign the regency.

The triumph of the faction was a short one. After ruling a few weeks, with a wasteful recklessness which even the daring firmness of the archbishop of *Toledo*², the upright *Ximenes*³, could hardly check, Philip was poisoned

¹ Daughter of John, viscount of Narbonne (see p. 198, note 2), and of *Mary of Orleans*.—By the ill-kept treaty of Blois (Oct. 1505), Naples was to be settled upon *Germaine* and her heirs; and if she died without children half of that kingdom was to revert to France.—That Ferdinand had sworn to *Isabella* not to marry again, is an unfounded assertion.

² The lofty and magnificent *Mendoza*, the patron of literature, and the founder of a noble college at Valladolid, had died in Jan. 1495. As some atonement for the immorality of his younger days,—he had several children by two high-born ladies,—he built and endowed a splendid hospital for foundlings at Toledo.

³ *Francis Ximenes de Cisneros*, an Observantine Friar, had been appointed by *Isabella* to succeed *Mendoza*; who is said to have recommended him for his archbishopric, when dying. Ferdinand wanted to give the see to his own bastard son *Alfonso*, a young man, who had been already preferred to the archbishopric of *Saragosa* when only six years old.—Notwithstanding his wonderful genius for rule, *Ximenes* had, when vicar-general of *Siguenza*, become a friar, even a hermit. From his austere seclusion, *Mendoza*, his early patron, had forced him to come forth and be confessor to the queen, on the promotion of *Talavera* to an archbishopric (A.D. 1492); and

at Burgos⁴, Sept. 1507, by Joanna: who was stung with jealousy by his unfaithfulness, and had lately been treated more unkindly than ever.

When Philip was dead, his unhappy wife sat in a darkened room without moving, or speaking, or shedding a tear; and though she once astounded the courtiers by signing orders to revoke all his grants and to dismiss his new counsellors, she could not be roused to attend to any other duties but those of watching his remains and praying for his soul⁵. At this crisis, the kingdom was saved from anarchy by the energy of Ximenes; the prudent Ferdinand taking care to display no rash haste to recover the regency, and even going away to settle his affairs at Naples⁶.

two years afterwards, he was elected to be provincial of his order in Castille, in which capacity he energetically set to work, and introduced the most stringent reforms into the friaries and nunneries. These were carried out still further, when he was raised to the primacy: the general of the Franciscans and the Pope himself being forced to give way, he was at length, in the year 1497, empowered by a bull to reform the religious institutions of every order, in which undertaking he was steadily supported by Isabella. He himself rigidly kept the rule of the Observantines; wearing the coarse frock of St. Francis beneath his robes of state, and practising the most rigid abstinence. In the year 1500, he founded the university of Alcalá, the magnificent rival of Salamanca; and in the same place, called in Latin *Complutum*, he caused his famous bible, "the Complutensian Polyglot," in six folio volumes, to be printed; a noble work which was completed in the year 1517.

⁴ This fact has been more clearly brought out by a letter, first published by Hormayer in the year 1849.

⁵ Wherever she went, the body was removed, and placed in some neighbouring church or monastery. Women were jealously kept away from it. One dark and stormy night, finding that she had brought it into the courtyard of a nunnery, she took it out into the open fields. Listening to the suggestions of a foolish Carthusian, she had hopes that the disembowelled corpse would suddenly revive.

⁶ There he ungratefully took the government from Gonsalvo de

When at length, to the joy of all classes, the old king returned to Castille, Aug. 1507, his daughter came with the archbishop to meet him, and resigned herself to his will. She was removed to Tordesillas, where she abode in seclusion until the day of her death (April 1555).

The rule of Ferdinand was firm, popular and useful. He wisely forgave all the wrongs which had been done to him; but kept a watchful eye on the nobles, whom he made to fear and obey him. His dominions also were increased by the crusade which Ximenes (now a cardinal) led into Africa¹, May 1509, thus gaining for Spain, Oran, and other towns on the northern coast of Barbary; and by the reduction of Pampeluna, July 1512, which was followed by the conquest of the whole of Navarre. Yet his latter days were wretched. Broken down in health, feverish, irritable, without relish either for the pleasures or the business of life, he died in the sixty-fourth year of his age, Jan. 1506; leaving, at the request of his counsellors, cardinal Ximenes regent of Castille² in the absence of his Austrian grandson: who succeeded as CHARLES I.

Cordova.—That great man, whom he dared not trust, died in retirement at Grenada, Dec. 1515.

¹ Though Ferdinand refused him money and the help of his friend Gonsalvo de Cordova, Ximenes led over an army under the great engineer count *Peter Navarro*, with which he landed at Mazarquivir (a port taken four years before). After Oran was stormed, May 1509, he returned home; having found that Ferdinand wanted to detain him in Africa, and that Navarro was unwilling to be commanded by a friar. Navarro afterwards took Bugia (Jan. 1510) and Tripoli (July 1510), and Algiers and other cities also became tributary to Spain; but a check in the island of Gelves (Aug. 1510) stopped his further advance.—Oran was kept as late as 1790, when it was damaged by an earthquake, and its garrison was withdrawn to Mazarquivir.

² Arragon was placed under the regency of Ferdinand's bastard son, the popular archbishop of Saragossa.

of Castille and Arragon, and afterwards became the Emperor Charles V.

Ferdinand would have been a still greater prince, had he not been false and selfish⁹. His meanness of soul came out in his jealousy of Columbus, Gonsalvo de Cordova, and Ximenes, the men whom his nobler wife had so well chosen, and so steadily befriended.

ARRAGON¹.

A. D. 1035. *Ramiro I.*

1038. Soprarbe annexed to Arragon.

1063. Battle of Graos ; Sancho-Ramiro.

1076. Sancho-Ramiro seizes Navarre,

1094. Siege of Huesca ; Peter I.

1096. Huesca taken.

1104. Alfonso I.

1109. Alfonso marries Urraca of Castille.

1118. Saragossa taken from the Moors.

1134. Death of Alfonso I.—Navarre independent.

RAMIRO I., the illegitimate son of Sancho the Great,

⁹ He was not even a faithful husband to Isabella.

¹ Arragon was a poor and barren country ; but its sons were free and industrious. Before the capture of Saragossa, in 1118, it was governed by an aristocracy of powerful barons (*ricos hombres*) who elected a king as head of the confederacy ; but the throne at length became completely hereditary, though no one could be king without taking the coronation oath before the Justiciary (*Justiza*) to observe the laws and liberties of the realm. Conquered territory was held by the barons in fiefs ; and by the General Privilege, no barony could be forfeited without sentence of the Justiciary and barons.—Next to the barons were the *mesnadaries*, who were also tenants-in-chief of the crown ; and the vassals of the higher nobles, the knights and *infanzones*. All these were exempt from taxes, and could only be tried by the royal judges. The prelates, barons, knights, and deputies of the royal towns, formed the four estates or *arms* (*brazos*) of the Cortes, which body was always kept separate from the Cortes of Catalonia and of Valencia.

annexed Soprarbe to Arragon, on the death of his half-brother Gonsalvo. He was slain at the battle of Graos, May 1063, while fighting against the Mahometans of Saragossa and their ally, the Infant Sancho of Castille, his half-nephew. **SANCHO-RAMIRO**, not less warlike than his father, seized upon Navarre, in the year 1076, and was at length killed at the siege of Huesca, June 1094. The fallen king was succeeded, both in Navarre and Arragon, by his eldest son **PETER I.**, by whom Huesca was finally won from the Infidels (Nov. 1096), in spite of the Castillians, who protected them as tributaries; and on the death of Peter², Sept. 1104, the second son, **ALFONSO I.**, the hero of many battles, ruled with vigour, conquering, in the year 1118, the important city of Saragossa, the seat of a Moslem dynasty. Alfonso, however, could not get possession of the dominions of his wife Urraca of Castille³; and in the last of his fights with the Mahometans, July 1134, he was beaten before Braga—a reverse which is said to have broken his heart. When he died, Sept. 1134, Navarre separated itself from Arragon; the remarkable will in which he had bequeathed his two kingdoms to the Hospitallers and Templars⁴, being treated as a dead letter.

A. D. 1134. Ramiro II., the Monk.

1137. Ramiro abdicates; Petronilla affianced to Raymond-Berenger.

1151. Raymond-Berenger marries Petronilla.

1162. Alfonso II., king of Arragon and count of Barcelona.

1167. Alfonso seizes the county of Provence.

1172. Roussillon bequeathed to Alfonso. Petronilla dies.

1196. Peter II.—Provence separated from Arragon.

1204. Peter marries Mary of Montpellier.—Peter, crowned at Rome, becomes the Pope's vassal.

² Peter's son—another *Peter*—died before him.

³ For the reign of Urraca, see above, pp. 412, 413.

⁴ Made in the year 1131, and confirmed in 1133.

A. D. 1212. *Battle of Tolosa.*

1213. Peter II. slain at Muret.

RAMIRO II., *the Monk*, Alfonso's youngest brother, who was chosen king by the Arragonese, married *Agnes of Aquitaine*⁵, and reigned about three years. He then returned to his cell, after giving up his crown to his infant daughter PETRONILLA; who had a wise guardian in the warlike RAYMOND-BERENGER, count of Barcelona, to whom she was affianced⁶.

ALFONSO II., the eldest child of Petronilla, inherited the county of Barcelona, on the death of his father, Aug. 1162; and was placed by his mother on the throne of Arragon⁷, being then about ten years old. These wide domains were enlarged by the conquest of the rich county of Provence, in the year 1167; and by the peaceful acquisition of Roussillon, the latter of which counties was bequeathed to him (July 1172)⁸. When this popular and powerful prince died at Perpignan, April 1196, Provence was inherited by the Infant Alfonso, his second son.

PETER II., the first-born, who had succeeded his father in Arragon, Catalonia, and Roussillon, as well as in his superiority over the fiefs between the Pyrenees and the Rhone⁹, married *Mary of Montpellier*¹, a lordship of

⁵ Daughter of duke William IX., and widow of *Aymery*, viscount of *Thouars*.

⁶ See p. 170, and p. 399.—Raymond-Berenger, even after his marriage in the year 1151, would never take any higher title than *prince* of Arragon.

⁷ Petronilla, who still reigned, died ten years afterwards, Oct. 1172.

⁸ See the account of Provence, pp. 171, 172, note 8; and of Roussillon, p. 177, note 1.

⁹ For a list of some of these fiefs, see p. 197, note 9.

¹ MARY was the daughter of WILLIAM VIII., lord of Montpellier; who was descended from WILLIAM I., to whom Montpellier was

which he also got possession, June 1204. He went to Rome, a few months afterwards, and was knighted and crowned by Pope Innocent III., Nov. 1204; having of his own free will agreed to hold his kingdom as the vassal of the Holy See, and to pay a yearly tribute in return for its protection.

Brave and generous to excess, the friend of the Troubadours, and the gay lover of the ladies, Peter was more of a knight than a king. He helped to win the glorious battle of Tolosa, in which the Moors were overthrown, July 1212; and he was slain at Muret, in the Albigensian war, while fighting against Simon de Montfort, in behalf of Raymond of Thoulouse, his brother-in-law, April 1213.

A. D. 1213. James I., the Conqueror.

1229. Leonora of Castille divorced.—Conquest of Majorca.

1231. Treaty of Tudela.

1238. Siege and capture of Valencia.

1239. The kingdom of Valencia conquered.

1246. Council of Lerida.

1248. The Moors of Valencia expelled.

1258. Treaty of Corbeil.

1262. Majorca and Roussillon settled on the Infant James.

granted as a fief by *Ricuin*, bishop of *Maquedonne*, in the year 975. Her mother, *Eudoria*, the child of the Eastern Emperor Manuel Comnenus (and originally intended to have been the bride of Alfonso II. of Arragon), had been irregularly repudiated; so that count William's sons by a second marriage were set aside as bastards.—Mary herself had lately been divorced from the second of her husbands, *Bernard IV.*, count of *Comminges*, by whom she had two daughters; the said count having two repudiated wives living, at the time of his marriage with her. Peter made a solemn promise never to put her away, and never to marry any one else while she was alive; yet he tried to get a divorce from her, at the close of his career, and even attempted to give Montpelier to *William*, her half-brother (Jan. 1213). She died at Rome, in the odour of sanctity, April 1213.

A. D. 1265, 1266. Murcia conquered for the Castellians.

1269. James's crusade.

1276. Death of James. Peter III.

1282. Conquest of Sicily.

1283. The General Privilege.

1285. French Invasion.—Death of Peter; Sicily separated.

JAMES I., *the Conqueror*, only five years old at his accession, owed to the Pope's protection his release from the fangs of the count of Montfort, into whose keeping he had formerly been consigned as a future son-in-law². When he was thirteen, he became the husband of *Leonora of Castille*, the youngest daughter of Alfonso the Good; but though he had a son by her, named *Alfonso*³, the marriage was broken at the end of eight years. The choice of his mature manhood was *Violante*, the daughter of *Andrew of Hungary*, Sept. 1235.

The conquest of Majorca from the Moslems, Dec. 1229, speedily followed by the reduction of Minorca and Iviça, at once raised the power and reputation of James. He did not, indeed, get the crown of Navarre, the reversion of which had been settled on him by the treaty of Tudela (Feb. 1231⁴); but he wisely put his strength into a holy war against the Moors of Valencia, and thus won for himself that strong and wealthy city, Sept. 1238, and afterwards took possession besides of the rest of the important kingdom of which it had been the capital⁵. Not less politic was his league with Alfonso the Wise of Castille, for whom, in the year 1265 and the next, he

² Yet James, in after life, would not pay the tribute to the Holy See; and at the council of Lyons, May 1274, Gregory X. refused to crown him.

³ Alfonso died before his father, in the year 1260.

⁴ For the account of his adoption by Sancho of Navarre, see p. 404.

⁵ The Moors, proving troublesome, were eventually forced to emigrate (A. D. 1248).

subdued Murcia; gloriously wresting a third kingdom from the Mahometans, and driving them away from his new border. And by his treaty with St. Lewis at Corbeil¹, May 1258, his relations with France were placed on a sounder footing: for the sovereignty over Roussillon and Catalonia was entirely given up to him, while the claims which he ceded were such as could only have been enforced at the sword's point.

Zealous as James was to fight for Christianity², his dominions were once laid under an interdict, and he himself was excommunicated. His offence, for which he was absolved at the council of Lerida (Nov. 1246), was his cutting out the tongue of *Berenger*, bishop of *Gerona*, whom he suspected of having betrayed a secret which had been told him in the confessional³. Great scandal was also occasioned by the looseness of his life.

After a reign of sixty-three years, the last of which was sadly troubled by a dreadful inroad of the Moors from Africa, James the Conqueror died at Valencia, in the habit of a Cistercian monk, July 1276. By a deed executed some years before, Aug. 1262, he had settled the kingdom of Majorca, the county of Roussillon, and the lordship of Montpellier, on the Infant JAMES, his second surviving son⁴.

¹ See also above, in the reign of St. Lewis, p. 281.

² For an account of his attempted crusade to the Holy Land, in the year 1269, see above, p. 288; note 7.—Ferdinand Sancho, the illegitimate son who went on to Syria, engaged in a revolt after his return, and was thrown by his half-brother, the crown-prince Peter, into the river Cinga.

³ The bishop had written to the Pope in behalf of *Theresa Vidaura*; a lady who had borne the king two sons, and had tried to break his marriage with Violante on the ground of a pre-contract to herself.

⁴ JAMES I., king of Majorca, son of James the Conqueror, lost Minorca to the Moors; and was deprived of Majorca and Iviça by

PETER III., the successor to his father in Arragon, Valencia, and Catalonia, had married Constance of Sicily, the daughter of Manfred; so that when the Sicilians rose against their French conquerors, he was invited to come over with his fleet, and was crowned at Palermo as king of Sicily, Sept. 1282. For this he was excommunicated by the Pope, and his hereditary dominions were invaded by Philip the Hardy, whose son, Charles of Valois, was to hold them as a fief of the Roman Church⁵. Peter's own brother, the king of Majorca, turned against him.

Before the storm had yet burst upon his kingdom, Peter, in the year 1283, had been compelled by an armed union of his subjects to grant a charter of liberties, called the GENERAL PRIVILEGE⁶. His prudence and good faith now won for him the steady loyalty of all classes, and brought him triumphantly out of his troubles. The Papal interdict was set at defiance; Charles of Anjou's son, the prince of Salerno, was taken prisoner; the French invasion was baffled; and the treachery of James of Arragon was punished by the loss of Majorca and Iviça, which

the Arragonese, in the year 1285. These islands, Minorca included (which had been retaken, Nov. 1286), were restored to him at last, Aug. 1298, to be held as a vassal kingdom. He was succeeded, June 1311, by SANCHE, his second son; *James*, the eldest, having become a Franciscan, though he afterwards returned to the world and married. The third king, JAMES II., the son of Sancho's brother *Ferdinand*, when attacked by Peter IV. of Arragon, finally lost the Balearic islands, in the year 1343, and Roussillon the next year.

⁵ See above, in the latter part of Philip the Hardy's reign.

⁶ The General Privilege provided against arbitrary tallages, spoliations of property, secret process in criminal charges, the appointment of Jews and foreigners as judges, trials of persons in places beyond the kingdoms to which they belonged, the use of torture (except in the case of false-coiners), and the bribery of judges.

were conquered by the crown-prince. Ere this last success was quite achieved, Peter caught cold and died, Nov. 1285, aged forty-six¹. The crown of Sicily he bequeathed to his second son.

- A.D. 1285. Alfonso III. The Balearic islands seized.
- 1287. Privilege of Union.
- 1288. The Infants of La Cerda let loose.
- 1291. Treaty of Tarascon. James II.
- 1295. Treaty of Anagnia.
- 1296. The Infant Frederic chosen king of Sicily.
- 1298. Majorca restored. Sicilian expedition.
- 1305. Peace of Campillo.
- 1319. Cortes of Tarragona; renunciation of the Crown-prince.
- 1326. Sardinia conquered.
- 1327. Alfonso IV.
- 1336. Death of Alfonso IV.

ALFONSO III., Peter's eldest son, after seizing the islands which belonged to his uncle, drove the Moors out of Minorca, which they had retaken. In the year 1287, his people wrung from him the PRIVILEGE OF UNION, by which they secured the right of maintaining their liberties by means of armed combinations².

Provoked by the unfriendly behaviour of his cousin Sancho IV., Alfonso let loose the Infants of La Cerda to raise disturbances in Castille, Sept. 1288. With France and Naples, after much negotiation, peace was at length made at Tarascon, Feb. 1291, and he was also reconciled

¹ The last rites of the Church were administered to him by the archbishop of *Tarragona*, notwithstanding his excommunication.

² Should the king proceed against any member of the Union without previous sentence from the Justiciary, the rest were to be absolved from their allegiance. Cortes were also to be held yearly at Saragossa.—The words of this dangerous law are not known; so carefully was it afterwards suppressed.

with the Pope; but he had to pledge himself not to help his brother James or the Sicilians. Four months afterwards, he was carried off by a sudden illness, June 1291.

JAMES II. left Sicily, on hearing of his brother's death, and was crowned king of Arragon at Saragossa (Sept. 1291). All disputes with France, which again threatened war, were settled at the congress of Anagnia, June 1295; James also agreeing to marry *Blanche*, the daughter of the king of Naples, and secretly promising to give up Sicily to his father-in-law¹. The Sicilians chose, however, to call to the throne his brother Frederic, Jan. 1296; and though James so far fulfilled his engagement as to bring a powerful fleet to the help of their enemies (Nov. 1298), they still held out, and kept their independence.

The other chief events of this reign were the restoration of the Balearic islands to James of Majorca, Aug. 1298; the conclusion of the Peace of Campillo with Castille¹, Aug. 1305; and the conquest of Sardinia from the Pisans, in the year 1326². A union of the military orders against the king was annulled in the Cortes of Saragossa by the Justiciary, and the leaders were sentenced to punishment; it being also ruled that no appeal could lie to the spiritual court from a sentence of the Justiciary, passed with the assent of the Cortes.

James the Just died, much lamented, at Barcelona, Oct. 1327. The crown was inherited by his second son; the idle and dissolute Infant *James*, his first-born, having strangely given up his birthright at the Cortes of Tar-

¹ For the Treaty of Anagnia, see above, p. 322.

¹ For the Peace of Campillo, see above, p. 421.

² An earlier expedition in aid of the native nobles, in the years 1323 and 1324, had forced the Pisans in Sardinia to become his vassals; but they had soon revolted. Until the reign of Martin, Sardinia proved only a source of trouble and expense to the Aragonese.

ragona, Dec. 1319, after forsaking Leonora of Castille³, his virgin bride.

ALFONSO IV., *the Pious*, who had just become a widower when he lost his father, made Leonora his queen. He governed well; but was soon disabled by ill health, which brought him to the grave at the age of thirty-seven, Jan. 1336.

A. D. 1336. Peter IV., the Ceremonious.—War with Leonora and the Infanta.

1340. Battle of Rio Salado.

1343. Peter seizes upon the kingdom of Majorca.

1344. Peter conquers Roussillon.

1347. The Union in arms against the king.

1348. Defeat of the Union at Epila; the Privilege abrogated.

1349. Defeat and death of James of Majorca.

1350. War with Genoa.

1356—1366. Wars with Castille.

1363. Treaty of Monzon; death of the Infant Ferdinand.

1367. John I.—Arrest of Sibylla.

1390. Carrocia dismissed from court.

1395. Martin chosen king.—Siege of Barbastro.

1409. Death of Martin of Sicily. Sardinia reduced.

1410. Death of Martin.

PETER IV., *the Ceremonious*, who with his own hand crowned himself at Saragossa in token of his independence of the Roman See⁴, was the son of the first wife⁵;

³ The ill-fated daughter of Ferdinand IV. The Infant James left his wife as soon as the nuptial mass was ended, pretending that he had taken a vow of celibacy. He became a knight of Calatrava, and was afterwards Master of the Order of Montesa.

⁴ He went, however, to Avignon, in the year 1339, and did homage to the Pope for Sardinia.—He often had quarrels with the clergy. Once he drew his sword on the Pope's Nuncio for excommunicating some of his subjects; and he had him taken up to the top of a high tower, and held hanging by the feet from thence, with his head downwards, until he promised to revoke his sentence (A.D. 1350).

⁵ *Theresa*, grand niece of *Armengald*, count of *Urgel*.

as was also his brother *James*, count of *Urgel*. He soon stirred up a civil war by seizing the domains which had been given to his half-brothers by the late king⁶: but as his step-mother Leonora and her children were aided by Alfonso of Castille, he was forced to make peace with them. Two years afterwards, he joined his banners with those of Alfonso, when the Moors were routed by the Christians on the banks of the Salado, Oct. 1340.

Peter next assailed his kinsman *James II.*, king of *Majorca*, whose possessions he likewise coveted. Charging him with treachery against himself, his liege lord, he first cited him to his court, and then went over to Majorca with a fleet, May 1343, and drove him out of the island; a successful stroke, which was followed up by the conquest of Minorca and Iviça, and the invasion of Roussillon. That county was reduced in two campaigns⁷, notwithstanding all that could be done by its unfortunate master, who at last had even thrown himself upon his enemy's mercy; neither by force nor by prayer could the hand of the spoiler be stayed. After several attempts to recover what he had lost in Roussillon, James sold Montpellier to France, April 1349, and fitted out an armament, with which he sailed to Majorca: but when he had landed there, he was defeated and slain, and his son *James*, who was with him, was taken prisoner⁸.

⁶ The grants had been made when the king was weakened by ill health, and in breach of an oath not to alienate any more portions of the royal domain.

⁷ In the interval between them, March 1344, Peter put forth a decree to unite Majorca and Roussillon to the dominions of the crown of Arragon.

⁸ James escaped from prison, May 1362, and soon afterwards became the third husband of Joanna of Naples. In the year 1374, he overran Roussillon; and by the beginning of the next year (in which he died), he had penetrated into Arragon.

Not very long before the final overthrow of this brave but luckless prince, his wily, cruel, and ambitious conqueror had been brought to the brink of ruin by an armed league of the nobles, and of the great towns in Arragon and Valencia. When, in the year 1347 (after the death of a wife and son¹), Peter styled his eldest daughter *Constance* his successor, and tried to set aside the right of the count of Urgel to be regent of Arragon, as heir presumptive, whenever he himself was absent from that part of his dominions; the malcontents of every kind at once found a leader in his brother, and so formidable was the gathering of the "Union" at Saragossa, that the baffled despot was forced to give up his design. The count dying suddenly at the end of that same year, while he was with the court at Barcelona; there arose a suspicion of foul play, and again the Union was up in arms, headed by the infants Ferdinand and John, who were supported by their mother Leonora, and by the king of Castille. Peter was obliged to put himself in the power of his foes, and to consent to redress grievances¹, and to acknowledge the Infant Ferdinand as his heir: but even

¹ Peter's first wife, *Mary of Navarre*, daughter of Philip of Evreux and Jane of France, died in childbed, surviving her child, who was named *Peter*, only a few days. His second wife was *Leonora of Portugal*, daughter of Alfonso IV.; his third wife—the mother of John and Martin, his successors—was *Leonora of Sicily*, daughter of Peter II.; his fourth wife was a lady named *Martha*; and the fifth and last was *Sibylla de Forcia*.

¹ The leaguers complained of his partiality to the Catalans; the Valencians also wanted more liberal institutions. He was made to dismiss *Bernard de Cabrera*, his faithful and unpopular minister. *Cabrera*, who was quickly reinstated, was afterwards sacrificed to the hatred of Henry of Trastamara, by whom, at the end of the year 1363, he was accused of treason. Given up by the king of Navarre, in whose dominions he sought refuge, he was beheaded at Saragossa, July 1364.

at the time that he was kept confined within the walls of Valencia, he had the art to gain over *Lope*, count of *Luna*, and other chieftains; and with their help he broke through his trammels, and Ferdinand and the troops of the league were routed at Epila (A.D. 1348³). The Privilege of Union was abrogated. In the Cortes at Saragossa, Peter cut the original instrument to pieces with his dagger; and as he happened to wound his hand, he let the blood trickle upon the parchment, crying out that "a law which had been the cause of so much bloodshed, should be blotted out by the blood of a king." Every copy was likewise carefully destroyed.

Yet even when flushed with victory, Peter had the good sense not to carry his triumph too far³. While rooting up a mischievous right, he confirmed the ancient privileges of the realm: the succession to the crown was left unchanged; and not only were many wise laws enacted for the security of the subject, but the charge of upholding them was entrusted to the Justiciary, whose authority, moreover, was greatly increased⁴. Thus the liberty of

³ Ferdinand fell into the hands of some Castillians, who carried him safe away to their own country. When he returned to Arragon, Dec. 1357, his lands were restored to him; but he was murdered at last, with Peter's connivance, by Henry of Trastamara, July 1363.—See p. 438, note 7.

³ The love of liberty was still strong in Arragon. Perhaps also he was secretly pledged to the chiefs who had supported him.

⁴ The *Justiciary* (*Justiza*), whose office is not to be traced beyond the capture of Saragossa in 1118, was originally little more than the speaker or mouthpiece of the Arragonese court of peers (*ricos hombres*); but as these knew little about law, the whole of their judicial authority gradually passed into his hands. By the statutes of Peter's reign, all the royal and territorial judges were bound to apply for his opinion in cases of difficulty; no letters of the king were allowed to impede his jurisdiction, and inferior courts were forbidden to proceed in any business after his prohibition. His

Arragon came out purer from the flame which had threatened to consume it, and a state of disorderly independence was happily followed by an age of steady constitutional freedom.

In this reign, during the war which broke out between Venice and Genoa in the year 1350, the fleets of Genoa were successfully encountered by that Catalan navy which had won and kept for the Arragonese kings so many island conquests⁴. And in the year 1356, began the conflict with Peter the Cruel of Castille; the Catalan cruisers having captured, at the mouth of the Guadalquivir, three ships from Placentia in Biscay, on the pretence that they carried Genoese goods. It led to the treaty with Henry of Tras-

office was also to be held for life; and when this rule was afterwards evaded by exacting a promise to resign on demand, the Cortes interfered, in the reign of Alfonso V. (A.D. 1442), and put a stop to the practice. In the year 1390, the Justiciary was subjected to a court of inquiry composed of four persons, by whom his conduct was to be reported to the Cortes: but as this did not work very well, another tribunal of seventeen persons was created, in the year 1461, to hear complaints of abused jurisdiction. And as the high barons were not liable to personal punishment, the Justiciary, though he would administer the coronation oath to the king, and open and prorogue the Cortes of Arragon as his commissioner, was always a knight who belonged to the lower order of nobles.—Two important processes of the Justiciary were the *Jurisfirma* (firma del derecho) and *Manifestation*. The former, a recognizance entered into before him, to abide the decision of law, took the case out of the power of the royal judges, and protected the plaintiff from being arrested or otherwise molested by them; the latter would rescue a person already arrested out of the hands of the royal officers,—even if his neck were in the halter,—to be detained in a peculiar prison for fair trial. The Justiciary could not refuse to “manifest” any one when applied to.

⁴ Peter drew up a stern code of laws for his navy, in the year 1354; at which period he also quelled one of the frequent revolts in Sardinia.

tamara at Monzon, March 1363, and the overthrow of the Castilian tyrant.

Peter the Cereimonious⁶ ended his days at Barcelona, Jan. 1387, after ruling for more than half a century. A few months before his death, *Sibylla de Forcia*, his fifth wife, had persuaded him to take the lieutenancy of the kingdom from his son, the first crown-prince of Arragon who was duke of *Gerona* : but by an appeal to *Dominic de Cerda*, the Justiciary, he was made to restore what was an undoubted right.

JOHN I. was no sooner on the throne, than he threw his stepmother into prison, and brought her to trial on a charge of having destroyed her husband's health by sorcery. Her life was spared ; but her lands and goods were forfeited, and given to *Violante of Bar*⁷, the new queen.

This gay and careless prince dying, without leaving any son, while his brother Martin was away in Sicily, May 1395 ; his widow pretended to be with child, and *Matthew*, count of *Foix*, who had married his eldest daughter⁸ by a former wife, likewise claimed the vacant crown. But *Mary Lopez de Luna*⁹, the wife of Martin, set a strict watch over *Violante* ; and thus got her absent lord acknowledged as king, in July, at the Cortes of Saragossa, where measures were also taken to defend the country against invasion. When the count of *Foix* crossed the border, and laid siege to *Barbastro* (Nov. 1395), he could find no food

⁶ Before he got that name, Peter was called *The Cruel*.—Unlike his namesake in Castille, he was an ugly little man.

⁷ A daughter of Robert, duke of Bar. She had much influence with her husband, and was herself governed by a woman named *Carrocia*, whom, in the year 1390, the nobles insisted on banishing from court.

⁸ The Infanta *Joanna*, whose mother was *Martha* (or *Jane*) daughter of John I., count of Armagnac.

⁹ She was a kinswoman of the antipope De Luna.

for his troops; so he had to break up his camp, and retreat.

MARTIN, after the death, at Cagliari in Sardinia, of his son *Martin*, king of Sicily¹, July 1409, united Sicily to the crown of Arragon.—The young king had just won for him a decisive victory, the preceding June, over *William II.*, viscount of *Narbonne*², and *Brancaleon Doria*, the leaders of the rebels in Sardinia; which island had hitherto cost much blood and treasure to its Spanish conquerors, and was only now fully subdued.

Childless and wifeless,—Mary of Luna was also dead,—Martin forthwith married the beautiful *Margaret de Prades*, Oct. 1409; but though he was not more than fifty-one, his strength was gone, and in a few months he was in his grave. He died at Barcelona, May 1410, before he could make up his mind about naming a successor.

Of the claimants to the throne³, *James* count of *Urgel*, the great-grandson of Alfonso IV., and already lieutenant of Arragon, might be thought to have had the best right. He

¹ The crown of Sicily was bequeathed to young Martin, on the decease of his first wife, queen Mary, May 1402. He had afterwards married Blanche of Navarre, another heiress.

² William's grandfather had married *Beatrice*, the eldest daughter of *Mariano Doria*, judge or prince of Arborea.

³ These were JAMES, count of URGEL, son of *Peter*, the son of James, the first count; ALFONSO, marquis of *Villena* and duke of GANDIA, son of *Peter* duke of *Gandia*, and grandson of James II.; and young FREDERIC, count of LUNA, the partly legitimated son of Martin, king of Sicily. LEWIS, the titular duke of CALABRIA, son of Lewis II. of Anjou, represented his mother *Violante*, the younger daughter of John I.; his aunt, the countess of Foix, being childless. FERDINAND, the Infant of Castille, claimed in right of his mother Leonora, the late king's sister; but not a word was said in behalf of his nephew Henry III. of Castille.—The old duke of Gandia died before the decision was given; yet his heir did not withdraw from the contest, although the plea of proximity to the royal stock was no longer available.

was favoured by the Catalans, in whose country he had large estates : but the Arragonese rose against him, when *Antonio de Luna*, a powerful lord of his party, murdered *Garcia Heredia*, the archbishop of *Saragossa* ; and his chance was lost, as the whole weight of the Justiciary's authority was thrown into the adverse scale. The question of the succession was not allowed to be settled by violence ; it was entrusted to nine persons,—three Arragonese, three Catalans, and three Valencians,—whose decision was to be final. At the end of June 1412, after a long investigation, the votes of the Dominican *St. Vincent Ferrier* and five others, who were influenced by him, adjudged the crown to the Infant Ferdinand of Castille, the late king's nephew⁴.

A. D. 1412. Ferdinand the Just.

1413. The count of Urgel surrenders at Balaguer.

1416. Alfonso V., the Wise.

1420. Corsican expedition.—Alfonso adopted by Joanna of Naples.

1423. Joanna turns against Alfonso.—Marseilles sacked.

1435. Death of Joanna.—Siege of Gaeta ; battle of Ponza.

1442. Alfonso takes Naples.

1458. John II.—Naples separated from Arragon.

1460. Cortes of Fraga. Charles of Viana arrested at Lerida.

1461. Death of Charles.

1462. Roussillon mortgaged to France ; the siege of Gerona raised.

1464. Peter of Portugal proclaimed at Barcelona.

1466. Death of Peter.

1467. John, duke of Lorraine, enters Catalonia.

1469. Death of the Duke of Lorraine.

1472. Barcelona reduced ; end of the Catalan revolt.

1473. Recovery and siege of Perpignan.

1475. The French retake Perpignan.

1479. John succeeded by Ferdinand ; *Arragon and Castille united*.

⁴ De Luna, the Spanish antipope (Benedict XIII.), had been a great ally of Ferdinand.

FERDINAND of Castille, *the Just*, was forced to begin his reign with a war against the count of Urgel ; whom he besieged in Balaguer, and made to forfeit his estates, and to yield himself a prisoner for life. The Catalans, however, did not like to see the old line of Barcelona supplanted by a foreign dynasty ; and this feeling does not seem to have lost its strength at the time of their great rebellion, half a century afterwards.

Ferdinand did not long enjoy his good fortune. He died, while still in the prime of life, April 1416.

ALFONSO V., *the Wise and the Magnanimous*⁵,—a son worthy of his father,—took Calvi in Corsica from the Genoese, April 1420, and laid siege to Bonifacio. But during an armistice, a squadron from Genoa relieved the town, and saved the whole island from conquest. At Calvi, the new garrison was driven out by a revolt.

Having been adopted by *Joanna II.*, the queen of Naples, Sept. 1420 ; Alfonso went from Sicily, the next year, to defend her kingdom against *Lewis III.*, duke of *Anjou*. The queen soon became jealous of her new ally, and got rid of him by adopting the Angevin prince, her old enemy, in his stead, June 1423⁶ ; and owing to the unforeseen combination of both their factions, Alfonso could no longer keep his ground in a country which he had almost looked upon as his own. When Joanna was dead, Feb. 1435, he returned thither, and renewed the contest ; his opponent being *Regnier*, count of *Provence*, Lewis' brother and heir. As he was besieging Gaeta, he was taken

⁵ With the exception of Peter IV., the Arragonese kings had creditable surnames. They were fit to rule over a free and high-spirited people.

⁶ When on his way home to Arragon, in November, Alfonso wreaked his vengeance on his rival by burning and sacking *Marseilles*.

prisoner in a sea-fight off Ponza⁷ by the Genoese fleet, Aug. 1435, and was carried to the court of *Philip-Maria*, duke of *Milan*, to whom Genoa was then subject; yet he quickly retrieved his misfortune by winning over the duke, his enemy, to be his firm friend and ally, and in the end drove Regnier out of Italy, after the storming of Naples, June 1442.

In the delicious climate of Naples, Alfonso passed the rest of his days; leaving Arragon to the care of his brother John, the king of Navarre, who was his heir presumptive. Dying of a fever, June 1458, he was succeeded in the kingdom which he had conquered, by *Ferdinand*, an illegitimate son.

JOHN II., who had acquired Navarre in right of his first wife Blanche, the deformed widow of Martin of Sicily, then inherited Arragon, Catalonia, Roussillon, Valencia, the Balearic islands, Sardinia, and Sicily⁸. His treacherous arrest of Charles of Viana, his eldest son, at Lerida, Dec. 1460, provoked a civil war throughout his dominions, which he could only appease by setting him free, and yielding up to him the government of Catalonia; and on the death of the prince soon afterwards⁹ (Sept. 1461), the flame of rebellion was rekindled at Barcelona, when Joanna, the queen, had come thither with her son the Infant Ferdinand. To rescue his wife and child, who had fled to Gerona, and were beset there by the Catalans in a church tower, which that high-spirited woman bravely defended;

⁷ His brothers the king of Navarre and the Infant Henry were also taken with him.—Some years later, at his first siege of Naples, Alfonso lost his youngest brother, the gallant Infant *Peter*; whose head was smashed by a cannon shot, Oct. 1439.

⁸ At the Cortes of Fraga, Aug. 1460, Sardinia and Sicily were now declared to be permanently united to Arragon.

⁹ Charles had no children by *Agnes* his deceased wife, the daughter of Adolphus II. of Cleves.

John was forced, in May 1462, to get the help of a French army by mortgaging Roussillon to Lewis XI., his crafty ally.

The Catalans, believing that the prince of Viana had met with foul play, and that his sister Blanche had been cruelly disinherited, now offered their allegiance to Henry II. of Castille; and when that weak sovereign forsook their cause, they openly chose for their count the constable of Portugal, *Peter*, duke of *Coimbra*, a grandson of John the Great¹, whose mother was *Isabella*, the eldest daughter of the count of Urgel. Peter landed at Barcelona, Feb. 1464, and was also proclaimed king of Arragon: but he brought little aid, and he was so wanting in energy that, had he not died of a fever, June 1466, the rebellion must soon have come to an end. As the claim of the house of Anjou was not forgotten, Regnier of Provence was then called to the throne by the insurgents²; and the next year, his valiant son *John*, duke of *Lorraine* and titular duke of *Calabria*, was sent to them with a fine army, which was treacherously allowed by Lewis of France to defile through the passes of Roussillon.

John II. for a while was helpless. His treasury was drained by his efforts in the field, and the bribes which of late he had dealt out by wholesale; the subsidies from France were stopped; his daughter the countess of Foix and her husband threatened to seize upon Navarre³; and in the very crisis of his troubles, his eye-sight failed him, and he became quite blind. His intrepid wife somewhat

¹ Peter, the constable's father, was the second son of John I.

² No heed was taken of Peter's bequest to his kinsman John, the crown-prince of Portugal.

³ Like the prince of Viana, they were abetted by the faction of the *Beaumonts*, the hereditary foes of the *Agramonts*. A war broke out which forced John to give up the government of Navarre, and to content himself with the title of king (A.D. 1470).

checked the enemy by besieging Rosas and relieving Gerona ; but she sank under a cancerous disease from which she had long suffered, Feb. 1468, and in her the afflicted king might be said to have lost his right arm. Notwithstanding all that the Infant Ferdinand could do, the duke of Lorrain made himself master of the richest districts of Catalonia, and even Gerona was at last surrendered (A.D. 1469).

When things were at the worst, John's eyes were couched by a skilful Jew of Lerida⁴, and with his sight he recovered all his old vigour. At the end of another year, Dec. 1470, the death of the duke of Lorrain, after a very short illness, deprived the Catalans of a leader whom they loved and trusted : they found themselves beaten in every quarter, and Barcelona itself was beset by land and by sea. When the heroic citizens were forced by hunger to yield, Dec. 1472, the old king wisely and generously granted to them an amnesty ; proclaiming them to be good, faithful, and loyal subjects, and solemnly pledging himself to uphold their privileges and the constitution and laws of Catalonia.

No sooner had Barcelona submitted, than the people of Roussillon rose on a day which had been concerted with John, and massacred the French garrisons in most of their towns. With a boldness which age had not chilled, John threw himself into Perpignan, where the castle still held out against the citizens ; nor did he forsake his post when a large army came and besieged him : he stood firm under a double fire nearly three months, until the Infant Ferdinand, unmindful of his own difficulties in Castille, stirred up the spirit of the Arragonese nobles, and led them to the rescue. The war was slightly interrupted by a hollow treaty, Sept. 1473 ; and when it was renewed, the French

⁴ The Jew feared to couch the second eye, as the stars were not propitious ; but John overruled his scruples.

retook Perpignan, which earned its title of "most faithful" by a long and desperate resistance⁵, March 1475.

John died in the eighty-third year of his age, Jan. 1479. By his son FERDINAND and his daughter-in-law ISABELLA, the crowns of Arragon and Castille were at length united.

PORTUGAL.

A. D. 1095. Henry of Burgundy, count of Portugal.

1112. Alfonso-Henry succeeds his father.

1126. Theresa deprived of the regency.

1139. *Battle of Ourique. Alfonso-Henry becomes king of Portugal. Cortes of Lamego.*

1147. *Alfonso-Henry takes Lisbon from the Moors.*

1185. Death of Alfonso-Henry.

ALFONSO HENRY, the son of Henry of Burgundy⁶, inherited, in the year 1112, the country between the Douro and the Minho, together with Coimbra and other districts which his father had conquered from the Moslems. As he grew older, he emancipated himself from the rule of his unpopular mother Theresa; and not only did he refuse to do homage to Castille, but he assumed the title of king, which had been first given to him by his soldiers at Ourique, where he had routed five Moorish princes, July 1139, and which was afterwards confirmed by the Cortes of Lamego⁷, and by Pope Eugenius III. He agreed

⁵ *John Blanc*, the first consul, rather than betray his trust, let the enemy put to death his only son, who had fallen into their hands.

⁶ See above, p. 412; and p. 149, note 2.

⁷ Then, or at a later period of this reign, the Cortes at Lamego settled the rule of succession. By the second of the six articles, if the eldest son died before his father, the next surviving son was to be king; by the third, if the king died childless, his brother was to succeed, with the proviso that the children of the latter could not have his crown without being elected. By the fourth and fifth, if the king had no sons, his daughter could only be queen on condition of marrying a Portuguese lord; and the husband was to walk

to pay four ounces of gold yearly to the Holy See, as its vassal; and to the clergy he gave broad lands, regalian rights, and exemption from secular jurisdiction.

With the help of a fleet of crusaders, which was on its way to Palestine, Alfonso Henry took Lisbon from the Moors, Oct. 1147. After a long and prosperous rule, he died at Coimbra, Dec. 1185, above the age of ninety.

A. D. 1185. Sancho I.

1189. Silves in Algarve taken.

1191. Silves lost.

1197. Silves recovered.

1203. Elvas conquered.

1211. Alfonso II., the Fat.

1233. Sancho II., Capel.

1245. The Pope nominates Alfonso regent.

1247. Sancho tries to regain his power.

1248. Alfonso III.

1249. Algarve conquered.

1257. Alfonso excommunicated.

1262. Alfonso's second marriage legitimated.

1279. Denys the Liberal.

1283. The privileges of the clergy confirmed.

1319. The Order of Christ instituted.

1320—1322. First rebellion of the Infant Alfonso.

1323—1324. Alfonso's second rebellion.

1325. Death of Denys the Liberal.

SANCHO I., like his father, was helped against the Moors by the Crusaders who were going by sea to the Holy Land. Thus he took Silves in Algarve, Sept. 1189; and when he had lost it, he got it back again in the year 1197.—The conquest of Elvas, in the year 1203, also extended his power in Alentejo.

at his wife's left hand, to wear no crown, and not to call himself king until he had a male heir. By the sixth,—a remarkable law to preserve the separate nationality of Portugal,—no king's daughter could become queen, who was married to a foreign prince or lord.

ALFONSO II., *the Fat*, a warlike but dissolute king, who inherited the crown in the year 1211, died when he was about thirty-eight years old, March 1223.

SANCHO II., *Capel*^a, Alfonso's eldest son, drove the Moors out of Alentejo. Yet he was a weak prince, wholly given up to pleasure, and governed by his wife *Mencia de Haro*^b, and by low-born favourites; which behaviour was so often complained of at Rome by his prelates and nobles, that at length, after sundry admonitions, an excommunication, and an interdict, his brother and heir presumptive *Alfonso*, count of *Boulogne*, was by a bull of Pope Innocent IV. made regent of the kingdom, June 1245. Thus stripped of his power, Sancho fled to the court of his kinsman St. Ferdinand of Castille at Toledo; and from thence he returned, about two years afterwards, with an army, and was in a fair way to recover Portugal, when the archbishop of *Braga* drove him back in confusion by the mere reading of the Pope's bull in the camp of the allies. The next year (A.D. 1248), the banished king died at Toledo, and the regent was crowned as his successor at Coimbra.

ALFONSO III. successfully waged war with the Moors; but was forced to share his conquests in Algarve and Andalusia with the Castillians. Algarve, however, was eventually ceded to him by Alfonso the Wise (A.D. 1267.)

Alfonso III. had married *Beatrice*, the illegitimate daughter of his Castillian ally, when his first wife *Matilda* of Dammartin, countess of Boulogne, was still alive. For this he was excommunicated by Pope Alexander IV., in the year 1257, and Portugal was laid under an interdict;

^a So called because his mother had made him wear a monastic dress.

^b She was the daughter of *Lupus*, lord of *Biscay*.

yet he was absolved by Urban IV., after Matilda's death, and his union with Beatrice legitimated. He was subjected to fresh censures by his own primate, for violating the privileges of the clergy, the convents, and the military orders; and from these he was only released on his death-bed, March 1279.

DENYS, *the Liberal and the Father of his Country*, tried hard to curtail the overgrown immunities of the ecclesiastics: but in the fourth year of his reign, he was forced to confirm them, as the bishops and their spiritual weapons were too strong for him. He was the steady patron of letters¹, industry, and tillage; the towns also thrived under his rule, and the middle classes, or third estate, rose into importance. He shielded the Portuguese Templars from persecution, and got the Pope to sanction the Order of Christ into which they were merged, March 1319.

Troubles broke out in his latter days; his bastard son *Sancho of Alburquerque* having roused the jealousy of the crown-prince. The malcontents seized Coimbra and other towns, and murdered the bishop of *Evora*, who had the charge of denouncing them with the papal censures; and when indeed, after two years of strife, peace was made in the year 1322², they took up arms again before a twelve-month was over. A second reconciliation was closely followed by the death of Denys, at the age of sixty-four, Jan. 1325, after a rule of nearly forty-six years.

A. D. 1325. Alfonso IV.—Sancho of Alburquerque exiled.

1340. Battle of Rio Salado.

¹ In 1290, he founded a university at Lisbon, which, in the year 1318, he removed to Coimbra. Portuguese ceased to be a rude jargon; and by *Vasco Lobeira*, the famous romance of "*Amadis of Gaul*" was written.

² By the mediation of the queen, *St. Elizabeth of Arragon* (the daughter of Peter III.).—The crown-prince was to keep his conquests, and the bastard was to leave the court.

- A. D. 1355. Murder of Inez de Castro.
1357. Peter I.
1361. The body of Inez exhumed.
1367. Ferdinand.
1369—1371. War with Castille.
1372. Ferdinand marries Leonora Tellez.
1373. The Castillians besiege Lisbon.
1378. Murder of Maria Tellez.
1381—1382. Third war with Castille.
1383. Death of Ferdinand. Don John regent.
1384. Lisbon besieged by John I. of Castille.
1385. The Regent John proclaimed king of Portugal.

ALFONSO IV., *the Brave*, at once confiscated the goods of Sancho of Alburquerque, and drove him into exile. He more nobly distinguished himself by his wars with the Moors, and by the share which he took in the great Christian victory on the banks of the Salado, Oct. 1340.

In the year 1355, Alfonso put to death at Coimbra the fair and frail *Inez de Castro*³, whom his eldest son, for some time a widower, had privately married. He died in May 1357, having reigned rather more than thirty-two years.

PETER I., *the Justiciary* and *the Cruel*, horribly avenged himself upon those who had joined with his father in the murder of Inez. He solemnly declared her to have been his wife; and even caused her body to be exhumed, two years afterwards, that it might be laid in the grave with royal honours.

The iron rule of this king, which protected the middle classes, and raised their condition, kept the clergy in check, and did much to strengthen the authority of the crown. His death, at the age of forty-six, Jan. 1367, was looked upon as a national loss.

FERDINAND, the son of Peter by his first wife, was one

³ Inez (Agnez) de Castro, a Castillian lady, had been Don Peter's mistress even in the lifetime of his first wife *Constance Manuel*, also a Castillian; who died in the year 1345.

of the claimants to the crown of Castille, after the fall of Peter the Cruel ⁴. Forced, notwithstanding his league with Arragon, to make peace, March 1371, he was soon at war again: for he broke his promise to marry the Infanta *Leonora*, Henry of Trastamara's daughter ⁵, and raised *Leonora Tellez*, his mistress, to be his queen ⁶. He then allied himself with the duke of Lancaster, to attack Castille; but as his own dominions were overrun, and Lisbon besieged, he was fain to extricate himself by a fresh treaty, March 1373. After Henry of Trastamara was dead, there was a third war, in the year 1381, which hardly lasted a twelve-month. The feud was now so far healed that John I. of Castille, who had lately become a widower, married the Infanta Beatrice, Ferdinand's only child ⁷, May 1383. Shortly afterwards, Oct. 1383, Ferdinand died at the age of forty-three.

Unwilling to be ruled by the Castillian husband of their youthful princess, the Portuguese gave the regency to the late king's bastard brother John, the grand master of the order of Avis ⁸. He put down a plot of the queen dowager, whose paramour *John Ferdinand d'Andeyro* he stabbed

⁴ He claimed as the grandson of Beatrice, the daughter of Sancho IV.

⁵ Afterwards queen of Charles III. of Navarre.

⁶ She was divorced from her husband *Lawrence d'Acunha*.

⁷ It was first intended that she should marry Ferdinand, afterwards king of Arragon, John's second son.—Her recent marriage with John of Gaunt's nephew *Edward* (a little boy whose father *Edmund*, afterwards duke of York, was in Portugal as his brother's lieutenant) was looked upon as null.

⁸ Ferdinand's other surviving half-brother, *John* (Inez de Castro's son), whom the Portuguese wanted to make king, was detained in Castille, where—like his elder brother *Denys*, also an exile—he had married an illegitimate daughter of Henry of Trastamara. He had fled thither, in the year 1378, when he had murdered *Maria Tellez*, his first wife; having listened to the calumnies of the queen, her sister, who had been offended by their secret marriage.

before her face; and when she withdrew to Santarem, and called the Castillians to her aid, the foreigners were repelled, and were unable to take Lisbon which they had besieged. So much did his influence increase, that the crown itself was offered to him at the Cortes of Coimbra, April 1385; it being held that those who were nearer to the throne could only plead a questionable legitimacy⁹.

A. D. 1385. *John I., the Great. Battle of Aljubarrota.*

1415. Conquest of Ceuta.

1420. *Madeira discovered.*

1433. Edward, king of Portugal.

1436. Expedition against Tangier.

1438. Alfonso V.

1439. Don Peter regent.

1449. Don Peter slain.

1463. Guinea discovered; death of Don Henry the Mariner.

1471. Tangier conquered.

1475. Alfonso invades Castille.

1476. *Battle of Toro.*

1477. Alfonso returns to Portugal.

1479. Peace with Castille.

1481. John II.

1483. The duke of Braganza beheaded.

1484. The young duke of Viseo killed.

1486. *The Cape of Good Hope discovered.*

1495. Death of John II.

JOHN I., *the Great*, established himself in his kingdom by routing the Castillians in a great battle at Aljubarrota, Aug. 1385¹. In memory of his victory, he founded the magnificent Dominican convent of Batalha, the burial-place of the Portuguese kings; and he likewise rewarded the valour of *Nugno Alvarez Pereyra*, the Constable, with the duchy of Braganza, which eventually came into the pos-

⁹ Being the offspring of the irregular marriages of Leonora Telles and Inez de Castro.—John the Great's mother was *Theresa Lorenza*.

¹ See also the reign of John I. of Castille, pp. 445, 446.

session of his own illegitimate son *Alfonso*, by his marriage with *Beatrice*, the Constable's daughter. From Alfonso, the royal house of Braganza derives its origin.

Having been released by the Pope from his vows, John became the husband of Philippa of Lancaster, Feb. 1387. His reign was long and happy. He gave a great impulse to the spirit of Portuguese enterprise by his conquest of Ceuta, a nest of Moorish pirates on the coast of Barbary, Aug. 1415; and by the genius of his third son Don *Henry*, duke of *Viseo* and grand master of the Order of Christ, a glorious career of discovery and conquest was opened to the maritime nations of Europe. That illustrious prince turned his attention to the infant art of navigation²; and mariners trained under his auspices sailed beyond Cape Non, and doubling Cape Bojador ventured into the dreaded regions of the tropics. Besides Madeira, which was discovered in the year 1420, and which was planted with vines from Cyprus and sugar canes from Sicily; the Azores and the isles of Cape Verd had been visited before the close of his useful life in 1463, and the coast of Africa had been explored as far as Sierra Leone³.

EDWARD inherited the crown of Portugal and Algarve, Aug. 1433, when his aged father died of the plague after ruling nearly half a century. About the year 1436, he sent two of his brothers, Don Henry the Mariner and Don *Ferdinand*, the grand master of Avis, on an ill-starred expedition against Tangier, which ended in the surrender of

² At Ceuta, in the mosque of which he was knighted with his brothers by his father, HENRY THE MARINER seems to have got information which led him to seek out the way to India by sea. He retired to the promontory of St. Vincent, where he built an observatory and the port of Sagres, and studied astronomy and navigation; and thus formed a school of scientific seamen. As early as 1452, he procured the first of the Papal grants to Portugal of the undiscovered lands.

³ In John's reign, Lisbon became the capital of Portugal.

Ferdinand to the Moors, as a hostage for the restitution of Ceuta. The pledge not being redeemed, the Infant languished in fetters the rest of his days.

Like his father, Edward died of the plague, Sept. 1438. His widow, *Leonora of Arragon*⁴, was left with the care of his eldest son, who was only six years old.

ALFONSO V., afterwards named *the African*, was very soon taken out of his mother's charge by his uncle *Peter*, the duke of *Coimbra*, John the Great's second son. At the age of fourteen, he married his cousin *Isabella*, the Regent's daughter; a match which did not prevent the breaking out of an unhappy war, in which Peter was slain by an arrow as he was fighting against his nephew⁵, May 1449.

Ten years after the death of the Regent, the chivalrous Alfonso first invaded Africa. In his third and last expedition, Aug. 1471, he took *Arzila* and *Tangier*. Less glorious was his attempt to win the crown of *Castille*⁶, by which he brought upon himself a signal defeat at *Toro*, March 1476. Being duped by *Lewis XI.* of France, to whose court he went for help, he chose to abdicate rather than return home, meaning to go on a pilgrimage to *Palestine*: but he suddenly changed his mind, and set sail for *Portugal*, where he landed and resumed his sceptre, only a few days after his son had been proclaimed king, Nov. 1477. His fiery spirit would not let him rest, especially after he was forced to sign a treaty of peace with *Castille* (Sept. 1477); and he was about to leave his throne again, and to put on the habit of a *Franciscan* friar, when he fell sick of the plague, and died, Aug. 1481.

⁴ The daughter of Ferdinand of Castille, king of Arragon.

⁵ Peter's corpse was left to lie on the field of battle three whole days, as the king forbade its burial. The next year, Alfonso acknowledged the innocence of his ill-fated father-in-law.

⁶ See above, pp. 461, 462, 463.

JOHN II., *the Perfect*, who had not a little of his father's vehemence, charged *Ferdinand*, duke of *Braganza*⁷, his brother-in-law, with a treasonable correspondence with Castille, and had him beheaded, June 1483. This so enraged some of the great nobles, that they plotted to set on the throne his cousin *James*, duke of *Viseo*, the eldest son of his uncle *Ferdinand* and the brother of his wife *Leonora*: but he stabbed his youthful kinsman with his own hand, and punished the conspirators with death and exile.

In this reign, the Portuguese seamen crossed the equator; and by Bartholomew Diaz, in the year 1486, the Cape of Good Hope was discovered⁸. The fulfilment of the expectations thus awakened, John II. never lived to see. He died at the age of forty, Sept. 1495; and as his only son⁹ was gone before him, his crown was inherited by his first cousin the Constable, James of Viseo's younger brother.

A. D. 1495. Emanuel the Great and the Fortunate.

1496. The Jews banished.

1497. *Vasco de Gama sails to India*.

1500. Cabral discovers Brazil.

1505—1509. Almeyda viceroy in the Indies.

1509—1515. Viceroyalty of Alburquerque.

1517. Canton first visited.

1519—1522. Magellan's voyage.

1521. John III.

1526. The Inquisition established.

1529. The Spanish claim to the Moluccas compromised.

1557. Sebastian.

1574. Sebastian's first African crusade.

1578. Sebastian slain at Alcazar-quivir. Henry I.

⁷ Grandson of duke Alfonso. He had married *Isabel of Viseo*, the queen's sister.

⁸ By its discoverer, who could not double it, it was called *Capo Tormentoso*, the Stormy Cape. The king gave it its better name.

⁹ The Infant Alfonso.—See p. 476, note 5.

A.D. 1580. Death of Henry I. Antony of Crato defeated at Alcantara ; *Conquest of Portugal by Spain.*

1581. Cortes of Tomar.

EMANUEL *the Great and the Fortunate* banished the Jews from Portugal, in the second year of his reign. He likewise excluded the converts, or New Christians, from all offices in Church and State ; a harsh law which he himself repealed in March 1507, after a dangerous outbreak in which many of the New Christians had been massacred.

In July 1497, a squadron of four ships, carrying a hundred and sixty men in all, was sent from Lisbon, under the command of *Vasco de Gama*, to complete the discovery of a passage to the East Indies. This officer doubled the Cape¹ ; successfully reached Calicut on the Malabar coast, then the emporium of India, May 1498 ; and returned in safety to Lisbon, Sept. 1499. The next year, *Peter-Alvarez de Cabral* set sail with a new fleet, and discovered Brazil on his way ; being driven westward by foul weather. On his arrival in India, he was very soon engaged in a quarrel with the Zamorin of *Calicut*, and the policy of the Portuguese was changed from trade to conquest. By *Francis d'Almeida*, the viceroy in the Indies, and *Alfonso* of *Albuquerque*, who superseded him, a chain of forts and factories was established, which extended from the coast of Africa to the peninsula of Malacca and the Spice Islands ; and in the year 1517, the trade with far distant China was opened at Canton². *Albuquerque*, by his ravages on the coasts of the Red Sea, and by the conquest of Ormuz in the Persian Gulf (A.D. 1507), ruined the commerce of the Arabs and Egyptians, who had opposed the growing power

¹ Nov. 1497, after a stormy passage of four months.

² Owing to their quarrels with the Chinese, the Portuguese were not allowed to live at Canton ; but leave was given them to build the town of Macao, thirty leagues off, as a station.

of Portugal as hurtful to their own traffic³; and when viceroy, he seized Goa (A.D. 1510), and made it the capital of the Portuguese possessions in the East. There he died of a broken heart, in the year 1515; the king having ungratefully recalled him, and even promoted the men whom he had sent home as criminals⁴.

Besides these expeditions, which have caused his reign to be the golden period of his country's history, Emanuel kept an army in Africa, to carry on the war with the Moors in Barbary. He died at Lisbon, of an epidemic, aged fifty-two, Dec. 1521.

JOHN III., Emanuel's son and successor, forced the Inquisition upon his people. Established at Lisbon, in the year 1526, the institution spread itself over all the dominions of the Portuguese crown; Goa being its chief station in the East. Sees and missions were founded in India; and in the year 1541, the Jesuit *Francis Xavier* was sent thither to preach the Gospel: whose wide field of labour extended to Japan, and who died on an island near Canton, Nov. 1552, when he was about to penetrate into China. John himself became a Jesuit, and only retained his sceptre with the Pope's leave.

A dispute as to the right of Portugal to the Moluccas was settled by a convention at Saragossa, April 1529. Charles of Spain, who was in want of money, sold his

³ The Egyptians were also instigated by the Venetians. Indian goods were sold cheaper at Lisbon than at Venice, or any other of the ancient marts.

⁴ Another dissatisfied Portuguese officer was *Ferdinand Magellan* (Magelhaens). Refused an increase of half-a-crown a month to his pay, this sea-captain entered the service of Charles of Spain, and undertook the first voyage round the world. He sailed with five ships from Seville, in the year 1519; discovered a new passage to India through the straits which still bear his name; and had reached the Philippines, when he was slain at the island of Matan, April 1521. The next year, his surviving comrades returned to Spain.

claim for a million ducats. Several years later, Brazil was colonized.

John dying at the age of fifty-five, June 1557, his kingdom was inherited by his grandson *Sebastian*⁵, under the regency of *Catherine of Austria*⁶, his widow.

SEBASTIAN, in 1562, when eight years old, had a new guardian in his great uncle cardinal *Henry*⁷, to whom Catherine resigned her authority. On attaining to man's estate, his knightly courage, and the fanatical lessons which he had learned from the Jesuits, led him to renew the wars against the Moors in Barbary.

His first inroad, in the year 1574, was an affair of brilliant skirmishes. His next expedition—undertaken against the advice of his dying grandmother, of cardinal Henry, and even of *Philip II. of Spain*, his firm friend—was to restore *Muley Mohammed*, whose uncle *Muley Moluch* had usurped the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco. Landing near Arzila, a town which had been lost and which he now retook, he had advanced far into the enemy's country, when he was met by Muley Moluch with an army which greatly outnumbered his own; and being so rash as to risk a battle, he perished at Alcazarquivir⁸, near the river Luco, together with the flower of the Portuguese nobles and warriors, while the Moorish

⁵ The posthumous child of the Infant *John* (the fifth of John III.'s six sons). His mother was *Joanna of Austria*, daughter of Charles V. and of Isabella of Portugal.

⁶ Sister of Charles V. and of John's own stepmother *Leonora* (the third wife of Emanuel the Great). Besides her six sons, who all died young, she had three daughters, the eldest of whom was *Mary*, the first wife of Philip II. of Spain.

⁷ Successively Archbishop of Braga, Lisbon, and Evora, and Grand Inquisitor. He was the fifth son of Emanuel by Mary of Arragon.

⁸ Although his dead body was found, so strong was the belief among the people that he was still alive, that several false Sebastians afterwards started up.

king, his ally, was drowned as he was trying to flee away, Aug. 1578. The heroic Muley Moluch, whose health was so broken that he was borne into the field on a litter, gloriously breathed his last in the moment of victory.

As Sebastian was unmarried⁹, his aged and infirm kinsman, the cardinal-archbishop, succeeded to the crown.

HENRY died just as he had completed his seventy-eighth year, Jan. 1580. It was not settled who was to be his heir, although the cortes had been assembled at Lisbon to consider the question. The last direct male descendant of Emanuel the Great was *Antony*, grand prior of *Crato*, the bastard of his third son *Lewis*; whose claims were by no means invalid. There were indeed more legitimate offshoots of the royal line through females; but with the exception of *Catherine of Guimaraens*¹, wife of *John*, duke of *Braganza*, whatever right they had was damaged by marriages with foreign princes. Of all the pretenders², the most powerful was PHILIP II. of Spain, whose mother *Isabella* was the elder daughter of Emanuel the Great.

In the month of June, ANTONY of CRATO got himself proclaimed king by the people, to whom the Spaniards were always hateful. But Philip's veteran general, whom

⁹ The ascetic young prince had reached his twenty-fifth year.

¹ Grandmother of JOHN IV., the first Braganza king of Portugal (Dec. 1640), and second daughter of *Edward*, duke of *Guimaraens*, the eighth son of Emanuel.—Her eldest sister *Mary* had been married to *Alexander Farnese*, the great duke of *Parma*.

² Besides ANTONY of *Crato*, CATHERINE of *Guimaraens*, and PHILIP II. of *Spain*, were RANUTIUS, ducal prince of *Parma*, son of *Mary* of *Guimaraens*; EMANUEL PHILIBERT, duke of *Savoy*, son of *Mary-Beatrice*, Emanuel the Great's youngest daughter; and even CATHERINE DE MEDICIS, queen-dowager of *France*, who was said to be descended from a doubtful son of *Alfonso III.* and *Matilda* of *Boulogne*. Pope GREGORY XIII. moreover pretended to the right of disposing of a crown which was dependent on the Roman see; and as the late king was a cardinal, he had a double claim to his property.

his master released from prison, and put at the head of his army,—*Ferdinand-Alvarez*, duke of *Alva* (Alba), the grandson of the conqueror of Navarre, and the scourge of the Netherlands,—routed the forces of this headstrong and impetuous youth at Alcantara, Aug. 1580; and then took Lisbon, and conquered the whole of Portugal in less than two months. At the Cortes of Tomar, April 15, 1581, PHILIP was solemnly acknowledged as the rightful sovereign; it being stipulated that Portugal should be governed as a separate and independent kingdom. Antony died an exile².

Under the selfish rule of a faithless dynasty of foreign tyrants, which lasted from this time until the recovery of the national independence in the year 1640; the energy of Portugal was crushed, her resources cruelly drained, and her trade and colonial empire reduced to the shadow of their former greatness. The wounds inflicted were so deep, that they have never been healed.

SECTION XI.

SCANDINAVIA AND THE NORTHERN KINGDOMS.

Of the kingdoms of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, and Russia, the account must be somewhat brief. Much of their medieval history is obscure, or only of local interest.

² After several wanderings, Antony arrived in France, July 1581, and was well received by Henry III. A fleet was given to him with which he sailed to St. Michael's; but its commander *Philip Strozi* had his ships destroyed at sea, in a battle with the marquis of *Santa Cruz*. A later attempt on Portugal itself, with the help of an English fleet under Sir *Francois Drake* and Sir *John Norris*, in the year 1589, also failed.—When Antony died, Aug. 1595, he left Henry IV. of France his heir; recommending two sons to his protection.

NORWAY.

- A. D. 875. Harold Harfagr, king of Norway.
 1000. Olaus I. overthrown by the Danes.
 1028. Olaus the Saint defeated by Canute.
 1036. Magnus I. rescues Norway from the Danes.
 1042. Magnus becomes king of Denmark.
 1047. Death of Magnus. Harold Hardrada.
 1066. Harold Hardrada slain at Stamford bridge.
 1103. Magnus III. slain in Ireland.

About the year 875, HAROLD, *the Fairhaired* (HARFAGR), who was of a princely race in Sweden, united into the kingdom of Norway the dominions of petty chieftains whom he had either subdued or expelled ⁴. He also extended his rule over the islands on the north and west of Scotland.

In the days of his great grandson OLAUS (Olaf) I. were great troubles, owing to the rough means by which Christianity was forced upon a fierce race of heathen pirates. This zealous sovereign was overpowered, in the year 1000, by SWEYN, the pagan king of Denmark ⁵, and by the Swedes, and his realms were shared between his conquerors: but his kinsman OLAUS II., *the Saint*, whose earnest faith was also marred by intolerance, made head against the invaders, shortly after the death of Sweyn in England (Feb. 1014), until he was driven out at last, in the year 1028, by Sweyn's son, CANUTE *the Great*, whom he had but lately attacked and defeated in Scania with the help of the Swedes. Olaus afterwards renewed the war with some troops which he brought from Russia, whither he had fled; and lost his life.

Canute's eldest son SWEYN II. was expelled from Norway, in the year 1036, by St. Olaus' son MAGNUS I., *the Good*; who re-established his country's independence, and

⁴ See also vol. i., p. 183, note 3.

⁵ Sweyn and Olaus had once been allies, and had joined in an invasion of England (A.D. 994).

even won for himself the crown of Denmark. On the death of Magnus, in 1047, Norway was a separate kingdom under HAROLD HARDRADA, his half-uncle⁶; whose career ended in England, where he was slain at Stamford bridge, near York, Sept. 1066. MAGNUS III., *Barfod*, the grandson of this king and the last of the legitimate dynasty of Harold the Fairhaired, recovered the Orkneys and Man, and conquered Cantyre from the Scots: but he was killed in Ireland, in the year 1103; after which, for some generations, there was a scramble for his kingdom among his bastard offspring⁷, and partition followed upon partition. During these troubled times, the prelates, with their lands and strong castles, and their power in the national assemblies, had the chief voice in the election of the kings; and the crown itself came to be held in fief of the archbishops of Drontheim.

A. D. 1217. Haco V.

1223. The Storting meets at Bergen.

1261. Iceland and Greenland recovered.

1263. Battle of Largs. Magnus VII. Lagabætta.

1264. Iceland and Greenland finally reduced.

1266. Sale of the Hebrides and Man.

1273. The hereditary succession established.

1280. Eric succeeds.

1299. Haco VI.

1319. Death of Haco.

Under Haco V., whose reign began in the year 1217, Norway, which was again one kingdom, settled down and throve. He encouraged trade, and was a friend to the

⁶ Uterine brother of St. Olaus, and great great grandson of Harold Harfagr. He had much wealth; having been one of the most distinguished of the northern warriors in the service of the Eastern Empire.

⁷ The doubtful question of paternity was wont to be settled by the fire ordeal.

commons⁸; and moreover he recovered the rule which St. Olaus once had over Iceland and its colonies in Greenland. But when he invaded Scotland, his good fortune forsook him. He was signally defeated at Largs, in Ayrshire, Oct. 1263; shortly after which, he died in one of the Orkney islands.

His son **MAGNUS VII.**, *the Law-mender* (*Lagabätta*), brought Iceland and Greenland under complete subjection; but sold the Hebrides and Man to the Scotch. He emancipated the crown from its vassalage to the see of Drontheim, and made the succession hereditary; the prelates renouncing their right of election so long as there should be any legitimate descendant of his race (A.D. 1273). After his death, in the year 1280, followed the two reigns of his sons **ERIC**⁹ and **HACO VI.**; and in the latter of these princes ended the male line of the dynasty, in the year 1319.

A. D. 1319. **Magnus (VIII.) Smek**, king of Norway and Sweden.

1350. **Magnus** resigns Norway to **Haco V.**

1363. **Haco** marries **Margaret** of Denmark.—Loss of Sweden.

1380. **Olaus V.**—Union of Denmark and Norway; **Margaret** regent.

1387. Death of **Olaus**; **Margaret** becomes queen.

MAGNUS SMEK, who was also king of Sweden, inherited Norway in right of his mother *Ingeborga*, **Haco's** daughter. In the year 1350, he resigned it to his son **HACO V.**; who afterwards married **MARGARET** of **DENMARK**¹. When **Haco** died (A.D. 1380), **Margaret** was regent for her son

⁸ In the year 1223, the **STORTHING**, or States-General, first assembled at Bergen.

⁹ **Eric** by his wife *Margaret* of Scotland (daughter of *Alexander III.*), was the father of the infant heiress of Scotland, *Margaret* maid of Norway; whose death in Orkney, Oct. 1290, gave occasion to the rival claims of the houses of Baliol and Bruce.

¹ April 1363, about which time he and his father were deposed in Sweden.

OLAUS V.; after whose death, in the year 1387, she herself became queen. And thus the crowns of Denmark and Norway were united.

SWEDEN.

- A. D. 875. Era of the kingdom of Upsala.
 829 and 855. St. Anschar visits Sweden.
 1001. Olaus III. becomes king of Sweden.
 1056. Accession of Stenkil.
 1075. Destruction of the temple at Upsala.
 1080. The pagan Blot-Swens oppose the Stenkills.
 1133. Swerker I.—Ruin of the Stenkills.
 1155. Eric IX.—Era of the conquest of Finland.
 1161. St. Eric murdered. Charles VII. king of the Goths and Swedes.
 1222. Death of John I., the last Swerker king.
 1248. East Bothnia and East Finland conquered.
 1250. Death of Eric XI., the last of the Bondes.

About the year 875, under ERIC (Henry) *Edmund-son*, the subjection of Gothland to the kingdom of Upsala first united the Swedes and the Scandinavian Goths². By that time, the preaching of *St. Anschar*, the apostle of the Danes³, had begun to dispel the darkness of heathenism; yet Christianity made its way rather slowly until the days of OLAUS III., a prince who took the title of king of Sweden, in the year 1001, and was baptized by one of the missionaries who were sent from England with *Sigefred* of *York*. Although strangely blended with the old super-

² See also vol. i., pp. 182, 183.

³ Originally a monk at Corbie, he preached in Denmark and Sweden; and in the year 831, he became the first Archbishop of Hamburg. He visited Sweden in 829 and 855; his second coming being called for by the expulsion of the Christian priests, in the year 845. At that disastrous time, Hamburg had been burnt by the Northmen, and he had fled to Bremen, the see of which he was afterwards allowed to hold in *commendam*.

stitutions, the Gospel civilized the Northmen ⁴. The pirates gradually became husbandmen.

In the year 1056, a new dynasty of kings began with STENKILL ⁵. When, however, the destruction of the temple and idols of Upsala had aroused the Pagans, who had hitherto been treated with forbearance, the family of BLOT-SWEN was set up against the Stenkills; and from the year 1080 to 1133, there was a war, at first of religion and then of races, owing to which the country was shared between rival kings, and Gothland and Sweden were at last separated. At the close of this period, SWERKER I.—one of the Blot-Swens, but a convert to Christianity—got for himself the mastery, and the Stenkills were extirpated.

On the assassination of Swerker, in the year 1155, ERIC IX., *the Saint*, son of *Bonde*, was raised to the throne by the Swedes: but the Goths declared themselves for the heir of the deceased king, and it was settled that the houses of Bonde and Swerker should reign alternately over both nations. When therefore St. Eric was murdered by some malcontents, May 1161, CHARLES VII., *Swerker-son*, who styled himself king of the Goths and Swedes, succeeded him. After these, two Bondes and two Swerkers had the crown in their turn ⁶; and then—on the death of JOHN I., the last Swerker, in 1222—followed the last male of St. Eric's line, ERIC XI., *Lespe* (the Stammerer), a wise and able king though stricken with palsy. He died childless, Feb. 1250.

⁴ The Roman letters now supplanted the Runic characters of the pagans.

⁵ The older dynasty, that of LODBROK, claimed descent from the pirate RAGNAR, who was put to death by the Northumbrians in 865.

⁶ CANUTE *Eric-son*, against whom Charles VII. fell fighting (A.D. 1167), was succeeded, in the year 1199, by the tyrant SWERKER III., Charles' son. Swerker was slain in battle, Feb. 1210, by ERIC X., *Canut-son*; on whose death, in the year 1216, JOHN I., Swerker's youthful son, came to the throne.

In this age, the clergy had greatly grown in wealth and power; so that, with the nobles, they could keep the sovereign in check. St. Eric revised the ancient laws of Up-land⁷; and also began the conquest and conversion of the Fins, by reducing West Finland. East Finland and East Bothnia were subdued by Eric XI.

- A. D. 1250. The Folkungers. Waldemar I.; Birger regent.
 1254. Stockholm built.
 1266. Birger lays down the regency.
 1272—1276. Waldemar's pilgrimage; Magnus regent.
 1279. Waldemar deposed. Magnus I.
 1288. Waldemar imprisoned (died 1292).
 1290. Birger.—Torkel regent.
 1304. Torkel beheaded. Birger imprisoned.
 1307. Birger released; the kingdom dismembered.
 1310. Birger's brothers do homage.
 1317. Birger starves his brothers.
 1319. Birger deposed. Magnus II., Smek.
 1350. Eric (XII.) disputes the kingdom with his father.—
 Norway given to Haco.
 1359. Death of Eric. Treaty with Denmark.
 1361. The Danes sack Wisby. Haco (II.) chosen king.
 1363. Magnus and Haco deposed.

WALDEMAR, the son of Eric's sister *Ingeborga* and the first of the Folkungers, began his reign under the guardianship of his father, count *Birger*: who put down by treachery the faction of the nobles who had married the two other sisters of the late king⁸; and who also built and fortified Stockholm, and ruled wisely for fifteen years, at the end of which he withdrew into a monastery. When left to himself, Waldemar fell into contempt, and became jealous of his brother *Magnus*, prince of *Gothland*, whom

⁷ "The law of God and of St. Eric" became a proverbial saying among the Swedes.

⁸ Birger invited the hostile chiefs to a conference, on the eve of a battle; and when they came, they were seized and beheaded.

he had entrusted with the regency while he himself went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land⁹. In the year 1279, he was forced to resign his crown.

MAGNUS I., *Ladulaes*¹, styled himself king of the Swedes and Goths; a title which was retained by his successors. Wise and warlike, he kept his nobles in order, and brought Lapland under his sway; and when Waldemar plotted against him, he shut him up in a castle for the rest of his days (A.D. 1288). Magnus died before his brother, Dec. 1290, when his eldest son was about eleven years old.

BIRGER, in the year 1304, tried in vain to appease a rebellion by cutting off the head of *Torkel Canut-son*, the hated regent of his minority. For three years he was immured in a prison by *Eric* and *Waldemar*, his brothers; and when released, he was made to give up to them two-thirds of his kingdom, to be held as independent duchies. He subsequently got help from Norway and Denmark, and thus induced them to do homage; and in the year 1317, having bidden them to a high feast at his court, he threw both of them into a dungeon, where they died of hunger. His people now rising up against him, he was beaten in several battles, and forced at last, in the year 1319, to take refuge among the Danes. He died in exile.

After the flight of Birger, his son *Magnus*² was beheaded, and the crown was given to his nephew, the heir of the murdered duke Eric.

MAGNUS II., *Smek*, who also became king of Norway, had the good fortune, in the year 1332, to acquire Scania, Halland, and Bleking, which had revolted from the Danish

⁹ He went to atone for his incestuous love for one of his sisters-in-law.—His wife, by whom he had two children, was *Sophia*, the daughter of Eric IV. of Denmark.

¹ So called, owing to a law of his which severely punished the seizure of a peasant's goods without payment.

² Magnus' mother was *Martta* of Denmark, daughter of Eric V.

rule. Eighteen years later, he raised his second son Haco to the throne of Norway; and, about the same time, he had to share the kingdom of Sweden with ERIC, his rebellious first-born. When Eric was dead³ (A.D. 1359), Magnus was again at feud with his subjects, owing to the cession of Halland and his other conquests in the treaty by which Margaret of Denmark was affianced to the young king of Norway. The islanders of Gothland refusing to pay taxes, Waldemar III. and the Danes were let loose upon them, in the year 1361, and the thriving port of Wisby was sacked and ruined; an outrage which so exasperated the Swedes, that they called upon Haco to take the government into his own hands, and Magnus was sent a prisoner to Calmar.

Haco was not long at the helm. His marriage with Margaret of Denmark⁴, April 1363, so offended the Swedes that they pronounced a sentence of forfeiture against him and his father, the latter of whom had lately escaped from prison. The crown was offered by the insurgents to *Henry II.*, duke of *Holstein*; who advised them rather to choose his wife's nephew the duke of *Mecklenburg*, the eldest son of *Euphemia*, Magnus Smek's sister.

A. D. 1363. Albert of Mecklenburg.

1371. Magnus retires to Norway (drowned, 1374).

1388. Albert taken prisoner at Falkoping.

1395. Treaty of Lindholm.

ALBERT of *Mecklenburg* won a battle in which Magnus Smek was taken prisoner, and Haco fled away wounded. The Danish allies of the deposed princes were afterwards

³ The young king was poisoned; some say by his mother.

⁴ He had promised the Swedes to marry *Elizabeth*, the duke of *Holstein's* daughter; but was dissuaded by *Waldemar* of *Denmark*, into whose hands *Elizabeth* had fallen (being driven upon his coast by a storm when on her way to Sweden).

gained over at some cost of territory; and though Haco eventually laid siege to Stockholm, in the year 1371, he only succeeded in getting his father released on condition of renouncing the throne. Magnus then withdrew to Norway, where he was drowned, about the year 1374, as he was crossing a ford.

Greedy of money and power, Albert drew upon himself a war with the clergy and nobles of his kingdom. These transferred their allegiance to Margaret of Denmark; who sent forth an army, under *Ivar Lycke*, by which the forces of the Swedish king were routed at Falkoping⁴, Sept. 1388, and he and his son *Eric* were carried away as prisoners to the castle of Lindholm. Every thing was conquered by the Danes but Stockholm and a few strongholds, which were held against them by *John*, duke of *Stargard*, Albert's cousin, for several years. The unequal conflict ended altogether, after the treaty of Lindholm had restored to Albert his freedom on hard terms of ransom, June 1395⁵.

A. D. 1397. *Union of Calmar.*

1520. Battle of Bogesund. Massacre of Stockholm.

1522. Revolt of Gustavus Wasa.

1523. *Gustavus Wasa*, king of Sweden.

In July 1397, on St. Margaret's day, MARGARET, "the Semiramis of the North," made the famous UNION OF CALMAR, by which Sweden, Denmark, and Norway were to be evermore under one sovereign, each kingdom having its own states-general and its own laws⁷.

There was too much jealousy between the Swedes and

⁵ See also p. 84, note 6.—His best troops were contingents from Mecklenburg and Holstein.

⁶ At the end of three years, he was either to pay 60,000 marks, or to give up Stockholm and all his claims to the Swedish crown.

⁷ The sovereign was also to reside in each of the three kingdoms in turn. Each in turn was to elect the king.

Danes for such a plan to work well. By the middle of the next century, the Union had become almost nominal; the kings of the house of Oldenburg having little authority in Sweden, which country was commonly ruled by native Administrators¹. The last of these, the younger *Steen Sture*, was mortally wounded in a battle with the Danes at *Bogesund* Jan. 1520; and by the Swedish States at *Upsala*, the following March, *CHRISTIAN II.*, "the Nero of the North," was recognized as king. But the citizens of *Stockholm*, animated by *Christian Gyllenstierna*, *Sture's* heroic widow, would not brook this submission to a foreign master: so that *Christian* had to besiege them for three months, and it was only by fair promises that he could get them to capitulate, Sept. 1520. He made his entry with great pomp; and on the fourth of November, he was solemnly crowned by *Gustavus Troll*, archbishop of *Upsala*, his unprincipled adherent².

After the coronation were three more days of feasting; on the last of which, ninety-four of the guests, the leading prelates and nobles of the land, were suddenly seized, tried, and doomed as heretics³. With such haste were the forms of this mockery of justice gone through, that the victims were led forth, the very next day, without a priest to shrive them, and their heads were struck off, and their

¹ These were *CHARLES CANUT-SON BONDE*, several times deposed and restored, who died in May 1470; *STEEN STURE*, his nephew, after whose death, Dec. 1503, came *SWANT NILSON STURE*; and last of all, *STEEN STURE II.*, *Swant's* son, Jan. 1512.

² This hateful prelate was the son of *Eric Troll*, who was candidate for the administratorship against *Steen Sture*.

³ *Sture* and his party had been excommunicated by the Pope, three years before, for deposing *Troll* from his see. To enforce this bull, *Christian* had invaded Sweden; but as he had now granted an amnesty, and had sworn to maintain the privileges of the kingdom, it had been concerted that *Troll* should rise up at the feast, and remind him that the Pope had not yet been satisfied.

bodies burnt to ashes. Nor even then was the vengeance of the king and the primate satiated. In all the towns which Christian visited, gibbets were set up for wholesale executions; and when he had returned home to Denmark, the Swedes had to bear without redress the insolent brutality of his soldiers, and the galling tyranny of the ministers whom he left behind ².

But in the son of one of the murdered nobles,—GUSTAVUS WASA ³, a young hostage whom the Danish tyrant had faithlessly carried away with him, about two years before,—the oppressed country found an avenger. Breaking loose from confinement, Gustavus hid himself for a while in the mountains of Dalecarlia, working in the mines for his bread; and when, by his strength and the boldness of his bearing, he had gained some influence over his fellow-labourers, he made himself known to the people at a yearly feast, and led them at once to rise with him against the governor of the province. Success increased the number of his adherents; so that in the spring of 1522, he took the title of Administrator, and was hailed, wherever he went, as a deliverer. In June 1523, he was elected king of Sweden; and by the surrender of Stockholm, which soon followed, his power was securely established ⁴.

By introducing the order of burgesses and peasants into the diet, the new king humbled the clergy and weakened the nobles. He thus recovered most of the alienated demesnes of the crown, and was enabled to confiscate the

² Especially of *Diedrich Slagheck*, a Westphalian barber, whom he now raised to be archbishop of *Lunden*. When the Pope complained of the murder of two bishops among the victims at Stockholm, Slagheck was made the scape-goat by his mean master, and was burnt alive at Copenhagen, Jan. 1522!

³ Son of *Erik Wasa*, and grand-nephew of *Charles Canut-son*.

⁴ Halland, the isle of Gothland, and other islands and districts still belonged to Denmark until the peace of Brömsebroe, Aug. 1645.

lands, tithes, castles, and convents of the ecclesiastics. Lutheranism was set up as the religion of the state, and no other form of belief was tolerated.

DENMARK.

- A. D. 863 (or 900). *Gorm the Old unites Denmark into a kingdom.*
 936. Harold Blaaland.
 962. Submission of Norway.
 965. Expedition of Otho; Harold baptized.
 985. Sweyn I.
 1000. Sweyn conquers Norway.
 1014. Canute II., the Great.
 1016. *Canute conquers England.*
 1028. Norway conquered. Ulf murdered.
 1036. Canute III. (Hardicanute.)
 1042. *The Danes lose England.* Magnus the Good.
 1047. Death of Magnus.

GORM the Old, the Norse king of Zealand⁵, subdued Jutland⁶ and the neighbouring islands, towards the end of the ninth century, and thus founded the kingdom of Denmark. Its border was extended beyond the Eyder: but in the year 931, the Danes were driven out of Sleswick by Henry the Fowler.

HAROLD II., *Blaaland*⁷, who succeeded his aged father about the year 936, twice went to the help of the Normans in France, and twice carried his victorious arms into Norway⁸. When, however, he ravaged Sleswick, he was attacked by Otho the Great; who, in the year 965, marched into Jutland, and obliged him to do homage as a vassal of the Empire, and to be baptized together with his son.

⁵ He was of the race of the *Skjoldings*. See vol. i., p. 183.

⁶ For GODFREY, one of the kings of the Jutes, and his nephew HEMMING, see also vol. i., p. 253.

⁷ *Blue-tooth*.—For his expeditions in aid of the French Normans, in the year 945 and 963, see above, pp. 272, 284.

⁸ In 950 and 962. On the latter occasion, he seized part of the country, and made the rest tributary.

By this son, who afterwards sided with the heathen party and restored the idols, Harold was driven from his throne in his old age ; and when restored by the grateful Normans, he was killed by one of the leading rebels, about the year 985.

The undutiful SWEYN I. (Svend), who had now forsaken heathenism, subdued Norway, and died while he was conquering England, Feb. 1014. His son CANUTE II. (Knut), *the Great*, brought England, Denmark⁹, and Norway under his rule, and had Sleswick ceded to him by Conrad the Salic : he became a devout Christian, founded bishoprics and abbeys, and was remarkable for his justice and wisdom. On the death of this prince, Nov. 1036, two illegitimate sons reigned in England and Norway ; but Denmark was inherited by CANUTE III., better known as *Hardicanute*, who was born in wedlock. Hardicanute died in England, which had fallen into his power after the decease of *Harold Harefoot*, his half brother, June 1042. With him ended the race of Skiold, and the dominion of the Danes in Britain¹.

A. D. 1042. Magnus of Norway.

1047—1076. Sweyn II., Estrithson.

1131. Murder of St. Canute, king of the Wends.

1152. Sweyn III. confirmed by Frederic Barbarossa.

1157. Accession of Waldemar I., the Great.

1164—1168. Conquest of Rugen.

1175. Julin sacked (and Stettin, 1176).

1182. Canute VI., the Pious.

1183. Partition of Mecklenburg.

1184. Submission of Pomerania.

1201. Conquest of Holstein.—Death of Absalom of Lunden.

⁹ He got Denmark after the death of his brother HAROLD III., in the year 1016.

¹ The civil wars among the Northmen enabled the English to regain their independence.—In the year 1069, a fleet was sent by Sweyn II. to invade the north of England ; but William the Conqueror baffled his designs.

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A a

A. D. 1202. Waldemar II., the Victorious.

1210. West Prussia conquered.

1214. Diploma of Frederic II.

1219. Conquests in Esthonia.

1223. Waldemar imprisoned; revolt of the conquered provinces.

1225. Waldemar released.

1227. Waldemar defeated at Bornhovet.

1241. Death of Waldemar II.

MAGNUS *the Good*, of Norway, on whom Hardicanute had settled by a treaty the reversion of the Danish crown, died childless in the year 1047; so that Denmark was again a separate kingdom under SWEYN II., *Estrithson*, Canute the Great's nephew², who, with the aid of the Swedes, had already tried four times to drive out the Norwegians.

On the death of SWEYN II., April 1076, followed a stormy period of slain kings and civil wars. Five of his thirteen illegitimate sons reigned in succession³; from the fourth of whom—ERIC I., *the Good*, the father of St. Canute, king of the Wends—sprang the dynasty which at last established itself on the throne, when the treacherous tyrant SWEYN III., who was of the bastard line of Eric I. and had been recognized by the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, was killed in his flight from a battle in which he had been routed by WALDEMAR I., *the Great*, the posthumous son

² Sweyn was the son of *Estrith*, Canute's sister, and of *Ulf* (a powerful count whom Canute caused to be murdered in a church, A.D. 1028).

³ HAROLD IV., who died April 1080; CANUTE IV., *the Saint*, who enforced the payment of tithes and was killed in the church of Odensee, July 1086; OLAUS IV., *Hunger* (in whose reign was a great famine), who died in August 1095; ERIC I., *the Good*, who died at Cyprus on a pilgrimage, July 1103; and NICHOLAS (Niels), who was murdered in Sleswick, June 1134.—For the murder of St. Canute (king of the Wends and the legitimate son of Eric the Good), at Ringstad, Jan. 1131, by Magnus, the son of Nicholas; see p. 50, note 2.

of St. Canute, Oct. 1157⁴. The new king attacked the piratical Wends who infested the Baltic; ravaging their coasts with his fleets, destroying their ships, and leaguings with Henry the Lion and Albert the Bear to overrun their territory. He conquered from them the island of Rugen, and in Pomerania he sacked Julin and Stettin; he is also known as the builder of Dantzic and the founder of Copenhagen⁵. Dying in his forty-ninth year, May 1182, he left his power in the hands of his son CANUTE VI., *the Pious*; who forced the princes of Mecklenburg⁶ and Pomerania to do homage, took possession of Lubeck and Hamburg, and subdued all Holstein. Canute dying childless at the age of forty⁷, Nov. 1202, his brother WALDEMAR II., *the Victo-*

⁴ On the death of Nicholas reigned ERIC II. (the younger illegitimate son of Eric I.); who destroyed his elder brother *Harold* and eleven of his twelve sons, and was himself killed in open parliament by a suitor against whom he had given sentence, Sept. 1137. His successor ERIC III., *the Lamb*, the son of his sister *Raghild*, had a war with Harold's surviving son *Olaf*, in which the latter perished. Eric, insulted by the Wendish pirates, withdrew into a monastery, in the year 1147; and the crown was disputed between SWEYN III., the bastard of Eric II., and CANUTE V., the son of Magnus. In the year 1152, Frederic Barbarossa adjudged it to Sweyn; but gave the island of Zealand to Canute. Sweyn made himself so hated and despised, that he was forced, five years afterwards, to content himself with Scania, and to cede the islands to Canute V., and Jutland to Waldemar, duke of Sleswick, St. Canute's son: but at the feast which concluded the treaty, Canute V. was murdered and Waldemar had a narrow escape. Waldemar again took up arms, and soon avenged himself.

⁵ Dantzic was originally *Danskuyk* (Danish fort); Copenhagen was a royal castle.

⁶ For the way in which he partitioned Mecklenburg, see p. 84, note 6.

⁷ The year before, March 1201, died *Absalom*, archbishop of *Lunden*,—a great divine, statesman, general, and admiral,—who was prime minister both of Waldemar and Canute. *Saxo Grammaticus*, the Danish historian, was the secretary of this able prelate.

rious, who styled himself king, not only of Denmark but of the Wends⁶, also annexed Lauenburg, West Prussia, part of Esthonia, and the island of Oesel; and recovered Dantzic, and built Stralsund and Revel. The Danes had the naval supremacy in the Baltic and in the German sea.

In the height of this prosperity, May 1223, Waldemar the Victorious was surprised in the night by *Henry*, count of *Schwerin*, his vassal, and carried off to Mecklenburg; a mishap which was the signal for the revolt of Holstein and of the Wendish provinces. Regaining his freedom on hard terms, Nov. 1225⁷, he afterwards took up arms to retrieve his shattered fortunes: but in the end he was beaten at the battle of Bornhovet, in which he lost an eye, July 1227; and of all the late conquests, only the island of Rugen, with Revel and Northern Esthonia¹, remained to him. When he died, March 1241, Denmark was still further weakened by partitions and civil wars².

⁶ In the year 1214, as the reward for his deserting Otho IV., the possession of his German and Wendish provinces was confirmed to him by Frederic II.

⁷ See above, p. 104, and *ib.*, note 2.

¹ Afterwards sold by Waldemar III. to the Teutonic knights, June 1347.

² ERIC IV., who had to force the rest of the family to own him as their liege lord, was treacherously murdered, Aug. 1250, when on a visit to his brother the duke of *Sleswick*; who reigned as king ABEL, and was defeated and slain by some Frisian rebels, June 1252. Abel's son *Waldemar*, eventually duke of *Sleswick* (from whom descended a line of dukes which became extinct in 1375), being a prisoner abroad, another son of Waldemar I.—CHRISTOPHER I.—also became king. He was poisoned by a priest, May 1259; and after him came his son ERIC V., a prince who was killed when asleep by traitors, Nov. 1286. Eric's sons were ERIC VI., who had a quarrel with Boniface VIII. (having imprisoned a prelate for taking possession of the see of Lunden without his leave), and who died in November 1319; and CHRISTOPHER II., from whom a capitulation was wrung by the clergy and nobles before he was allowed to have the crown.

A. D. 1241. Divisions between the sons of Waldemar II.

1334. Death of Christopher II.—Anarchy.

1340. Accession of Waldemar III.

1375. Death of Waldemar III.

At the close of a hundred years of disruption and misrule, during the last six of which there was no king at all,—in July 1234, CHRISTOPHER II., twice deposed, had died of grief,—young WALDEMAR III., the second son of Christopher II.³, was called to the throne (A.D. 1340). Scania, Bleking, and Halland had been seized by the Swedes; North Jutland and Funen by the Holsteiners; and Zealand, Falster, and part of Laland by Danish nobles. To recover these lost possessions was the work of Waldemar's life; and though headstrong, impetuous, and somewhat reckless as to means, he is honoured as the restorer of his country. On his decease without heirs male, Feb. 1375, the dynasty of the Estrithsons ended.

A. D. 1376. Olaus.

1380. Olaus inherits Norway.

1387. Olaus dies. The Regent Margaret queen of Denmark and Norway.

1389. Conquest of Sweden.

1397. Union of Calmar.

1412. Death of Margaret. Eric VII. (IX.)

1414—1435. War with Holstein.

1435. Eric deposed by the Swedes; but is reinstated.

1439. Eric deposed (died 1459.)

1440. Christopher the Bavarian, elected by the Danes.

1441. Christopher crowned in Sweden.

1448. Death of Christopher.

In May 1376, OLAUS, the infant⁴ son of Margaret,

³ *Otto*, the eldest son, was a captive in Holstein. His brother afterwards got him his freedom.

⁴ He was then about five years old.

queen of Norway, Waldemar's younger daughter, was chosen king by the Danes, owing to the arts of his adroit mother⁵; who after his death at the age of seventeen, Aug. 1387, succeeded him, both in Denmark and in Norway.

MARGARET, whose genius for rule was great, not only conquered Sweden, but also, by the union of Calmar, June 1397, for a while combined her three kingdoms into a Scandinavian empire. On the death of this northern Semiramis⁶ in her sixtieth year, Nov. 1412, her sceptre was feebly wielded by ERIC VII., her grand nephew⁷; who, to recover Sleswick, which (on the extinction of its royal line of dukes, in 1375) had been annexed by Holstein, waged a long war with the princes of Holstein and the Hanse towns, until the year 1435, when he was stopped by the troubles which had broken out in Sweden. There he was deposed by *Engelbrecht*, an administrator who was murdered and supplanted by Charles Canutson; and though he himself went over and regained his authority, his weakness and bad faith, and the pettishness with which he thrice withdrew himself either into Prussia or into the isle of Gothland, so disgusted the Swedes and the Danes, that at

⁵ *Ingeborga*, Waldemar's elder daughter,—the wife of *Henry I. of Mecklenburg*, elder brother of the *Albert of Mecklenburg* who became king of Sweden,—had a son named *Albert* for whom the crown of Denmark was claimed.

⁶ Like her prototype, her morals were rather lax.

⁷ He was the grandson of *Ingeborga*, whose daughter *Mary of Mecklenburg* married *Wratislaus*, one of the Pomeranian dukes.—The Norwegians had given him the title of king when they elected *Margaret*; and the latter had caused him to be chosen by the Swedes, July 1396, and afterwards to be crowned at Calmar, the next year, as the sovereign of the whole union then made.—He married *Philippa of England* (daughter of *Henry IV.*); who left him, in the year 1408, and withdrew into a Swedish monastery.

last he was deprived in both kingdoms of a power which he had virtually abdicated (A.D. 1439).

CHRISTOPHER, *the Bavarian*, Eric's nephew¹, whom the Danes placed upon the throne, April 1440, was not so readily chosen by the Danes and Norwegians. In less than two years, however, he had won their suffrages; after which he had no further trouble with them. He died suddenly at Helsingborg, leaving no children, Jan. 1448.

A. D. 1448. *Christian I., of Oldenburg, king of Denmark.*

1450. Christian crowned in Norway.

1457. Christian crowned in Sweden.

1459. Christian inherits Holstein and Sleswick.

1462. First revolt in Sweden.

1481. John, king of Denmark.

1483. John elected by Sweden and Norway.

1490. Partition of Holstein.

1497. John crowned in Sweden.

1500. John and his brother defeated near Meldorf.

1502. The Danes driven out of Sweden.

1513. Christian II.

1520. Christian crowned in Sweden.

1523. Loos of Sweden.—Christian deposed; Frederic I.

CHRISTIAN I., count of *Oldenburg*, was elected king in Denmark, Sept. 1448; his uncle *Adolphus VII.*, the childless count of *Holstein*², having declined the offer of the crown. The Swedes and Norwegians were for Charles Canutson; who did not, however, hold his ground in Norway, the sceptre of which Christian finally obtained, July 1450. Even in Sweden, Christian was at length crowned at Upsala, June 1457: but after a few years, there were revolts which led to the return of Canutson in the year

¹ He was the son of *Sophia of Pomerania* and of *John*, count Palatine of *Newmarck*, the Emperor Rupert's second son.

² Adolphus and his sister *Hedwiga* (Christian's mother) were descended through females from Eric V.

1464; and notwithstanding some reverses, the adventurous Swede and his nephew *Steen Sture* kept the Danes out of the kingdom which they had recovered.

Christian having inherited Holstein and Sleswick after his uncle's death (Dec. 1459), the Emperor *Frederic III.* erected Holstein into a duchy, in the year 1474; also annexing to it the hitherto independent district of Dithmarsh. Christian died at Copenhagen, May 1481, aged fifty-five.

JOHN, his son, at once succeeded in Denmark; and in the year 1483, he was chosen king both in Norway and Sweden. In the latter country, he could not get himself crowned until November 1497; and even then his power was precarious. Steen Sture, to whom he had given up Finland, besieged his queen¹ in Stockholm; and retook it in eight months, May 1502.

John and his brother *Frederic*, duke of *Holstein*², tried to conquer Dithmarsh. They easily reduced Meldorf, the only town in it: but the people of a land where no lord had ruled and no serf had served, laid the fens under water by opening the sluices, and fell fiercely upon their invaders. Ten thousand of these were either drowned or cut to pieces.

This king dying of a fall from his horse, Feb. 1513, his son CHRISTIAN II., the tyrant who gained and lost Sweden, ascended the throne. He only reigned ten years. When the oppressed Swedes had risen against him, he was deposed—first by the states of Jutland³, Jan. 1523, and then by the rest of Denmark—and the crown was offered to his

¹ *Christina*, daughter of the elector *Ernest* of Saxony.

² John had to divide Holstein and Sleswick with his brother. The final partition was made at Gottorp, Aug. 1490.

³ Christian was hated by the nobles; but the people rather liked him.—Notwithstanding all his faults, his wife *Isabella*, the sister of the Emperor Charles V., was faithful to him in his misfortunes.

uncle the duke of Holstein; and he was soon forced to flee from Copenhagen (April 1523). He returned to Norway eight years afterwards; but in less than a twelvemonth, he had to yield himself up. The twenty-seven remaining years of his life were passed in prison.

FREDERIC I., by whom Denmark and Norway were made Lutheran, was the founder of the existing dynasty of Danish kings.

POLAND.

- A. D. 840. Piast chosen duke of Poland.
- 996. Mieczislaus I. becomes a Christian.
- 1025. Boleslaus the Great takes the title of king.
- 1080. Boleslaus II. excommunicated.
- 1081. Uladislaus I. *duke* of Poland.
- 1138. Partition of Poland on the death of Boleslaus III.
- 1238—1289. Tartar inroads.
- 1295. Premislaus II. revives the title of king.
- 1296. Uladislaus Loketek, *duke* of Poland.
- 1300—1304. Wenceslaus of Bohemia master of Poland.
- 1320. Uladislaus Loketek finally revives the regal title.
- 1333. Casimir the Great.
- 1335. Silesia ceded to Bohemia.
- 1340. Galicia conquered.
- 1349. Volhynia and Podolia conquered.
- 1370. Death of Casimir; end of the Piasts.

About the year 840, the Slavic Poles on the middle Vistula are said to have chosen as their duke a peasant wheelwright named **PIAST**⁴; one of whose successors—**MIECZISLAUS I.**, the earliest duke of whom any thing certain is known—did homage to the Empire, became a Christian (in the year 966), and married a Bohemian princess. **BOLESLAUS the Great**, the son of Mieczislaus, subverted paganism⁵; won several victories over the Russians; made

⁴ Whatever may have been their real descent, all the earlier dukes of Poland were called Piasts.

⁵ The Poles submitted to keep a large number of additional fast days; the eating of flesh at forbidden times being punished by knock-

Pomerania tributary ; and conquered Silesia and part of Prussia. On the extinction of the Saxon line of emperors, in the year 1024 (which was hardly a twelvemonth before his own death), he ventured to have himself crowned as king.

The title thus assumed was lost for a while, when Gregory VII., in the year 1080, deposed and excommunicated BOLESLAUS II. for the murder of *St. Stanislaus*, the bishop of *Gracow*. ULADISLAUS, after the flight of his unhappy brother, was content to reign as duke over his dominions. On the death of BOLESLAUS III., in the year 1138, the dukedom was divided between four sons ; the fruits of which partition were feuds and civil wars, and the separation of Silesia from Poland⁶. In the thirteenth century, were the terrible inroads of the Moguls which have already been described⁷.

The fortunes of Poland having revived, the title of king was resumed by PREMISLAUS II., June 1295. It was dropped again after his murder, Feb. 1296 ; ULADISLAUS IV., *Loketek* (the Dwarf), succeeding only as duke : but that prince—although he was driven out of his country four years, in the beginning of the next century, by WENCESLAUS of *Bohemia*—had at length power enough to recover the royal dignity, being crowned at Cracow, in the year 1320. His son CASIMIR *the Great*, renowned for his victories over the Russians and Lithuanians, and honourably

ing out the delinquent's teeth. The Polish lords were also wont to draw their swords while the Creed was said, in token of their zeal for the faith.—Boleslaus founded the archbishopric of Gnesen and other sees.

⁶ ULADISLAUS, who had Cracow and Silesia, tried to dispossess his brothers, and was expelled from Poland. His descendants were allowed to have Silesia, into which they introduced German colonies, also subdividing it into several duchies, which eventually became subject to the kings of Bohemia.

⁷ For an account of these, see vol. i., p. 84.

styled the "peasants' king" and the lawgiver of Poland², gave up the sovereignty over Silesia to the Bohemians, in the year 1335; and agreed, at Kalisch, to let the Teutonic knights keep Lower Pomerania, July 1343. He made up for these cessions, by reuniting the duchy of Masovia to the Polish territory; and by the conquest of Galicia, or Red Russia, and also of Volhynia and Podolia³.

Dying of a fall from his horse, Nov. 1370, Casimir, who had no children, transmitted his dominions to his nephew¹, the son of his sister *Elizabeth* and of Charobert of Hungary. But by setting aside the rightful claims of the Silesian and Masovian Piasts, he fatally tampered with the principle of hereditary succession. The nobles took care to limit the authority of a sovereign who was of their own creation²; supplanting it by the yet worse despotism of a selfish oligarchy³.

A. D. 1370. *Lewis the Great.*

1382. *Death of Lewis the Great.*

1384. Sigismund loses Poland.

1386. Hedwiga marries Jagellon.

LEWIS the Great, who was also king of Hungary, died in the year 1382, just after he had prevailed on the Polish diet to settle the reversion of the crown upon SIGISMUND of *Luxemburg*, the husband of his daughter *Mary*. Sigis-

² He established a supreme court of justice, and made a revised code, promulgated in 1347.

³ These last conquests were won from the Lithuanians, who had wrested them from the Russians.

¹ The settlement had been ratified by a general assembly of the nation at Cracow, in the year 1339.

² Even as early as the year 1355, Lewis of Hungary was pledged to release the Polish nobility from all taxes, as soon as he should come to the crown.

³ The nobles were quite as despotic as the kings originally were. They had the power of life and death over their serfs.

mund did not long keep his footing in Poland. In less than two years, his authority was shaken off and the allegiance of the nation was offered to his wife's younger sister HEDWIGA; who consented to marry JAGELLON, grand-duke of Lithuania, and to place him on the throne. It was also arranged that the Lithuanian and his subjects should renounce paganism, and be baptized as Christians ⁴.

By the marriage of Hedwiga and Jagellon, Feb. 1386, the power of Poland was greatly raised. The union with Lithuania completely turned the scale against the Teutonic knights of Prussia ⁵.

- A. D. 1386. Uladislaus V. (Jagellon).
- 1410. Battle of Tannenberg.
- 1434. Uladislaus VI.
- 1440. Uladislaus becomes king of Hungary.
- 1444. Battle of Warna.—Interregnum.
- 1446. Casimir IV.
- 1466. Treaty of Thorn.
- 1492. John Albert.
- 1501. Alexander.
- 1506. Sigismund I.
- 1525. Treaty of Cracow.
- 1548. Sigismund II.
- 1561. Treaty of Wilna.
- 1569. Cosequatio Jurium.
- 1572. Death of Sigismund.

ULADISLAUS V., as the new Christian king was named, repelled the Teutonic knights from Lithuania, and gave them a signal defeat at Tannenberg, July 1410 ⁶. But he was obliged to let the Lithuanians be governed as a distinct nation by a vassal duke; and as Hedwiga left no heir, he had to yield fresh privileges to the nobles to secure the

⁴ See the account of the Lithuanians, vol. i., p. 188.

⁵ To these the district of Culm had formerly been ceded by the Masovian dukes, as the price of their help against the Russians.

⁶ He thus got Samogitia by the first peace of Thorn in 1411.

election of a son by another wife⁷. On his death, May 1434, that prince reigned as ULADISLAUS VI. Chosen king of Hungary, six years afterwards, he waged war with the Turks, and was slain at Warna, Nov. 1444.

CASIMIR IV., brother of Uladislaus and duke of *Lithuania*, to whom the crown of Poland was twice offered before he would accept it⁸, took the part of the confederated nobles and cities of Prussia against the Teutonic knights; and thus, after a struggle of twelve years, gained West Prussia and the sovereignty over the eastern province, at the Peace of Thorn, Oct. 1466. His kingdom then reached from the Black Sea to the Baltic. When he died, June 1492, his third son JOHN ALBERT was chosen in his stead; on whose decease, June 1501, reigned ALEXANDER, another son: who also died, in a few years, Aug. 1506, and was succeeded by SIGISMUND I., his younger brother.

This Sigismund⁹, who lived until April 1548, was the father of SIGISMUND II. AUGUSTUS, the last of the Jagellon kings. The younger Sigismund favoured the Reformation, as did many of his nobles¹; and but for the want of a middle class, Protestantism would perhaps have spread through the whole of the nation. Livonia, a Lutheran province², was acquired by the treaty of Wilna, Nov. 1561;

⁷ In 1504, for an extraordinary taxation, he first called the *Nuncios* or deputies of the nobles, elected at the *Dietines* (or provincial diets), to the General Diet.

⁸ He was first elected in 1445, and afterwards in the year 1446.

⁹ It was Sigismund I. who granted West Prussia as a ducal fief to ALBERT of BRANDENBURG, his nephew, at the Treaty of Cracow, April 1525.—See vol. i., p. 801, note 5.

¹ Religious freedom was maintained by the enactments of the diet at Wilna, in 1563.—There was unhappily much Socinianism in Poland.

² Livonia had become Lutheran under *Walter of Plattenberg*, the Provincial Master who purchased the virtual independence of the Livonian branch of the Teutonic knights (see vol. i., p. 81, note 5).

Gotthard Kettler, the master of the Livonian knights, ceding the possessions of his order³ while hard pressed by the Russians, and retaining Courland for himself as a vassal duchy. And in the year 1569, the union of Lithuania with Poland was finally completed by the *Cœquatio Jurium*, which placed the natives of both countries on an equal footing.

After the death of Sigismund II., July 1572, the crown became altogether elective⁴. At each vacancy, the nobles met in arms at Warsaw to choose the king; and thus arose fierce commotions, which ended in the interference of foreigners, and the ruin and dismemberment of the kingdom.

RUSSIA.

- A. D. 862. *Ruric establishes his rule at Novgorod.*
- 883. Igor removes to Kiow (Kiev).
- 941. Igor attacks Constantinople.
- 955. Baptism of Olga.
- 973. Swatoslaus defeated in Bulgaria by Zimisces.
- 988. Vladimir the Great baptized.
- 1015. Death of Vladimir.
- 1043. Jaroslaus sends a fleet against Constantinople.
- 1157. Grand duchy of Vladimir founded by Andrew I.

In Russia⁵, some time about the year 862, RURIC, a He had since quite shaken off his allegiance to the Grand Master, after the treaty of Cracow, and had been made a prince of the empire by Charles V., in the year 1527.

³ Esthonia, one of these, was kept by the Swedes, to whom it had revolted.

⁴ It was enacted that no successor could be chosen while the king was living. Each new king had to consent to certain "*pacta conventa*," or agreements, which lessened his authority; and in the middle of the next century, things were made worse by the "*Liberum Veto*," or the right of any member of the diet to disallow the resolutions of the whole body.

⁵ Northern and Middle Russia were inhabited by Fennic (Tschudish) and Slavic tribes. In the South were the Chazars.

Swedish Varangian or rover⁶, became the protector and afterwards the master of the Slavic city of Novgorod, one of the chief stations in the line of traffic between the Baltic and the Black Sea by the Gulf of Finland, Lake Ladoga, and the waters of the Dnieper⁷. His brothers and comrades, and a fresh stream of Scandinavian adventurers, spread themselves southwards; winning conquests, which by wars and assassinations were welded together into one grand dukedom, the seat of which was at Kiow (Kiev), whither Igor, the son of Ruric, had removed during his minority, in the year 883. During Igor's long reign, thrice was Constantinople threatened with pillage by Russian armaments which had floated in rude barks down the Dnieper⁸; and somewhat later, his son SWATIOSLAUS would have overthrown the Eastern Empire, had he not been vanquished in Bulgaria⁹ by *John Zimisces*, in the year 973. The great grandson of Ruric, VLADIMIR the Great, by whom Red Russia was subdued, married *Anne*, the sister of *Basil II.*, in the year 988, and was baptized as a

⁶ The name Varangian or Varogian—*Varägi* or Pirates—was given by the people near Lake Ladoga to the rovers, whom they also called Russ (Roots), the designation of the race to which they belonged. Thus from the Swedish Russ—the Swedes are still termed *Rootsi* by the Fins—Russia derives her name; just as France is so called after the German Franks, or England from the Angles of Holstein.

⁷ Slaves, honey, wax, fur, and hides were exchanged at Constantinople for corn, wine, oil, spices, and manufactured goods.

⁸ In the years 865, 904, and 941. The last expedition, which was led by Igor himself, was foiled by the Greek fire.—The frightened citizens were led to believe that there was a prophecy secretly written on an old statue, that the Russians would, in the last days, become masters of Constantinople.

⁹ He was then driven out of Bulgaria, which he had lately subdued as the ally of the Greeks.

Christian of the Greek Church¹. As the idols were then destroyed, and the people were forced to worship the God of their sovereign, Greek priests brought into Russia an alphabet and the rudiments of a higher civilization; so that Kiow became a second Constantinople, and trade and the arts of peace began to flourish².

At the death of Vladimir the Great, July 1015, the Russian territories extended from the Icy Sea and the mouth of the Dwina, to the Niemen, the Dniester, and the Bug; trending southwards to the Carpathian mountains and the borders of Hungary and Moldavia. A series of partitions now followed, by which the national strength was much weakened; an evil which reached its height after the grand duchy of Vladimir had been founded by ANDREW I., in the year 1157, and Kiow and its dependencies had detached themselves from the eastern provinces. Besides Kiow and Vladimir, which claimed to be sovereign states, there were no less than fifty principalities.

A. D. 1225. Battle of the Kalka.

1235. Batu pillages Kiow.

1237. Vladimir burnt; battle of the Sitta. *The Moguls subdue Russia.*

1245. Alexander Newsky tributary grand duke of Vladimir.

1328. John I. unites Vladimir with Moscow.

1380. Victory of Demetrius Donski.

¹ *Olga*, his grandmother, had been baptized by the name of Helena, as far back as the year 955.

² Constantinople was once more attacked, in the year 1043, in the reign of JAROSLAUS, the lawgiver of Novgorod; who was one of the sons of Vladimir. The Greeks thought fit to buy a peace. In the days of Vladimir, many of the Varangians entered into the service of the Byzantine court, and formed the body-guard (afterwards recruited by other Northmen, and by the English Saxons who fled from their conquered country) which retained its loyalty and its foreign language till the last age of the Greek Empire.

A. D. 1382. Moscow sacked by the Moguls.

1477. *John III. defeats the Golden Horde.*

While thus torn and weakened by partition, Russia had to struggle for her very existence. On one side, she was beset by the Lithuanians, Poles, Bulgarians, and other troublesome neighbours; on the other, she was overwhelmed and trodden down by the Tartars.

The first wave of Mogul conquest broke upon her in the year 1225, when *Tushi*, the son of Jenghis Khan, overthrew the princes of Kiow, or Western Russia, with dreadful slaughter at the Kalka³. The next, which swept far wider and was more lasting, was the onslaught of the hordes under *Batu Khan*, Tushi's son, the lord of the new Mogul kingdom of Kapjak. Kiow and Moscow were sacked; and in the year 1237, when Vladimir itself had been burnt, and its grand-duke *GEORGE* (*Iuri*) was afterwards slain in a bloody battle near the Sitta, the whole of Russia, except Novgorod⁴, was subdued, and could only keep her nationality by paying tribute. To so low a state was the great duchy of Kiow brought, that it fell, in the next century, together with its vassal provinces, into the power of the Lithuanians and Poles⁵.

More fortunate than its rival was Vladimir, the grand duchy of Northern and Eastern Russia. By the prudent *ALEXANDER NEWSKY*⁶, whose useful rule began in the

³ See vol. i., p. 83.—Before they returned home, the victorious Moguls ravaged as far as Novgorod.

⁴ “Who can withstand God and the great Novgorod?” was a proverbial saying.—In the year 1267, the city became one of the chief Hanse towns.

⁵ Volhynia, Kiow, Podolia, Red and White Russia, were then conquered.

⁶ Son of *JAROSLAUS II.*—He derived his surname from a victory which he is said to have gained near the Neva, in his father's lifetime, over the Livonian knights (A.D. 1241). After his death in 1261, Alexander was canonized as a Saint by his grateful countrymen.

year 1245, the tribute was regularly paid, and care was taken to conciliate the Moguls; so that the evil which could not be shaken off was lessened, and the country was saved from utter desolation. About sixty years after his death, the duchy was given by the conquerors to JOHN (Ivan) I., prince of *Moscow*; and by him—in the year 1328—*Moscow*, which every true Russian still reveres as a holy city, was made the capital instead of Vladimir. John's grandson DEMETRIUS won the name of *Donski*, on the banks of the Don, in the year 1380, by a victory over the Tartars, who were now at feud among themselves: but he afterwards met with reverses, and was forced by the sack of *Moscow* to beg for peace, and even to yield up his son as a hostage.

In the following century, the increasing disorganization of the kingdom of Kapjak, owing to the civil wars and territorial losses⁷, emboldened JOHN III., *Basilides* (Ivan Vasilowitz), who had lately reduced the free city of Novgorod, to refuse to pay any more tribute to *Achmet*, the Khan of the Golden Horde⁸. The defeat of *Achmet*, in the year 1477, and the annihilation of the horde itself at the end of a sharp struggle to recover its power, for ever emancipated Russia from the yoke of Tartar bondage.

A. D. 1505. Basil IV.

1533. John IV., the Terrible.

1547. John styles himself Czar.

1552. *Kasan* conquered.

1554. *Astrakkan* conquered.

1581—1583. Part of *Siberia* conquered.

1584. Theodore, Czar of Russia.

⁷ Hence are the kingdoms of Crim, *Astrakkan*, *Kasan*, and *Turm.*

⁸ John had already refused to walk on foot before his envoys; and now he trampled on an order to pay the tribute, spat upon it, and also put the messengers to death—except one whom he sent back to tell the tale to his master.

- A. D. 1587. Final conquest of Siberia.
 1591. Murder of Demetrius.
 1598. Death of Theodore ; Boris Godanov.
 1605. Death of Boris.
 1606. Death of the False Demetrius. Basil Zushi.
 1610. Basil deposed.
 1613. *Michael Romanov, Czar of Russia.*

On the death of John III., Oct. 1505, reigned BASIL IV., his son ; who was succeeded, Dec. 1533, by JOHN IV., BASILIDES, *the Terrible*, the first Muscovite sovereign who took the title of Czar^o.

Like his grandfather, John the Terrible distinguished himself by his wars against the Tartars, from whom he conquered the kingdoms of Kasan and Astrakkan, with part of Turan or Siberia. To this savage tyrant, in whom brute ferocity, worldly wisdom, and religious zeal were strangely blended¹, the Russian empire owes several of her institutions and much of her greatness. By creating a standing force of *Strelitzes*, or irregular soldiers, he checked the depredations of bandits, and kept the nobles under control ; and by sending to England² and Germany for good workmen and men of talent, he sought to improve his subjects in trades and manufactures and architectural skill. He also introduced the art of printing into Moscow.

In the days of his sickly and weak-minded son THEODORE (Fedor), whose reign began in March 1584, the rest

^o He so styled himself in the year 1547.

¹ He was a great builder of churches ; and when praying, he would cover his forehead with bruises by knocking it hard upon the ground.

² His friendship with England began in the year 1555.—He was afterwards one of the suitors for queen *Elizabeth's* hand ; and would have married *Ann Hastings*, daughter of the earl of *Huntingdon*, had not that lady heard that his seventh wife had been thrown into a lake !—He slew with his own spear a son whom he suspected of treason.

of Siberia was conquered, and the city of Tobolsk was built. With this Theodore, in the year 1598, the direct line of Ruric ended. It was believed that he was poisoned by his sister's husband BORIS GODANOV, an artful minister who had lately persuaded him to allow his own brother *Demetrius*³ to be murdered; and had thus paved his way to the throne.

When Boris died, April 1605, the kingdom which he had seized fell into a state of utter confusion. Supported by the Poles, and appealing to the blind loyalty of the people, several pretenders started up, bearing the name of Demetrius⁴; and such were the troubles which thence arose,

³ Demetrius was kept with his mother in a secluded village.

⁴ A young man very like Demetrius,—said to have been a peasant monk named *Griška Utrapoya*,—who had come forth in Lithuania under the protection of the Palatine of *Sandomir*, was recognised as the true Demetrius by a Polish diet; and when he advanced towards Moscow at the head of some troops which had been granted him, a Russian army went over to him, and the people in the city threw the widow of Boris and her youthful son into prison. A report was soon spread that these had killed themselves; and in the meanwhile, the mother of Demetrius, now brought out from her retreat, publicly acknowledged the pretender to be her son. His marriage with the Popish daughter of the Palatine, and the building of a church for the Jesuits, gave such offence, that some of the Boyards plotted his overthrow. His Polish guard was slain; he was seized after he had jumped out of window and broken his leg; and when the old Czarina had been forced to swear that he was not her son, he was shot by BASIL ZUSHI, a nobleman whom the faction forthwith raised to the throne, May 1606. Another Demetrius was then set up by the Secretary of the fallen one; and when he also was overpowered, a third started up in Poland, whom the Palatine of Sandomir swore to be his son-in-law, and the Palatine's daughter owned to be her husband! The Boyards deposed Basil Zushi, in the year 1610, and shut him up in a convent; yet they did not give the crown to the new pretender, who at length was murdered by some Tartars at a feast. A fourth Demetrius, after reigning some years at Pleskow, was handed over to Michael Romanov and hanged. Michael also got the Cossacks to

that some of the nobles at length thought of bestowing the crown upon *Charles-Philip*, the brother of *Gustavus-Adolphus* of Sweden, while others were for choosing *Uladislaus*, the son of *Sigismund IV.* of Poland. In the meanwhile, the Swedes took Ingria and Novgorod, and the Poles made themselves masters of Smolensko.

The country thus threatened with dismemberment, was saved by the wise union of the nobles to set up a native prince. The Poles were driven out of Moscow, and **MICHAEL ROMANOV**—a lad of fifteen whose mother was descended from Ruric⁵—was raised to the throne (Feb. 1613).

betray to him the Palatine's daughter and her son by her first husband; and then caused the unhappy fugitives to be drowned in a frozen pond. The boy was afterwards personated by an adventurer, who for a while was patronized by the Polish court; but when this last of the pretenders retired to Holstein, he was sold to Michael and quartered.

⁵ Michael was the son of *Theodore Romanov*, then archbishop of *Rostov* and named *Philaretes*, whose wife *Mary* was of the royal race. Both of these had been put into a monastery by the Poles, to whom they had been sent with an embassy by the false Demetrius; but when they were exchanged for some prisoners, the archbishop, who was wise and popular, was made patriarch of Moscow, and became the guardian of his son.

END OF VOL. II.

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